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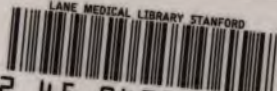
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CHILDREN'S BUREAU

JULIA C. LATHROP, CHM

# JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN RURAL NEW YORK

BY

KATE HOLLADAY CLAGHORN

DEPENDENT, DEFECTIVE, AND DELINQUENT CLASSES, SERIES No. 4

Bureau Publication No. 32



WASHINGTON  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
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JULIA C. LATHROP, Chief

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## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,  
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,  
*Washington, December 22, 1917.*

SIR: Herewith I beg to submit a report entitled Juvenile Delinquency in Rural New York, prepared for this bureau under the auspices of the New York School of Philanthropy by Miss Kate Holladay Claghorn, of the faculty of that school. Mr. Henry W. Thurston, a member of the same faculty, was closely associated with Miss Claghorn in the planning and final preparation of the report. The field agents, to "whose interest, patience, and skill in eliciting information" Miss Claghorn ascribes in large measure the value of the material, were Miss Madge D. Headley, Miss Dorothy Baldwin, Miss Katherine Z. Wells, and Mr. Thomas A. Mason.

Many social organizations gave assistance in making the study, notably the State Charities Aid Association of the State of New York. To all, thanks are due.

The originality and significance of the study and its method of approach are discussed in an introductory chapter by Miss Ruth True.

The report is the more painstaking and truthful because it does not attempt an impossible series of tabulations. It is noteworthy that Miss Claghorn, a recognized statistician, has entirely abandoned here the statistical method and presents a picture of helpless childhood under deteriorating social conditions which are obscured by the very isolation and neglect out of which they are made.

The report shows a type of social life that, unfortunately, can be matched in many places, and which must be generally understood if all country children are to secure their claim to mental and moral vigor and to education.

Respectfully submitted.

JULIA C. LATHROP, *Chief.*

Hon. W. B. WILSON,  
*Secretary of Labor.*



# JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN RURAL NEW YORK.

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## INTRODUCTION.

The subject of juvenile delinquency almost automatically calls up a picture of tenements and city streets, where traffic and trade and play shoulder one another for room. This report is based upon its study in an opposite setting. The investigators, leaving the main crowded trail, went into country villages that were perhaps feeling the stir of a new industrial life or of an influx of city folk in search of a playground, or perhaps were holding to the old sleepy routine as small trading centers of farming districts. From these they went out to still tinier straggles of houses, clustering along a turnpike or crossroads, and then back to solitary farms far up in the hill country.

Among children growing up in the isolation and comparative monotony of the countryside, they found a seepage of delinquency, as a rule little noticed and carelessly handled. As in the city, it covered the range from mischief to crime. No guess is hazarded as to the amount of trouble in comparison with that caused by urban conditions. The answer could be given only through statistics, and in this field statistics are misleading. Therefore, figures are not a feature of this report. But a description is presented which makes clear the causes of rural delinquency among children and the form which it takes.

One fact made evident is that degeneracy is not wholly a product of cities. Many of these country children have back of them a sorry ancestry and around them a thriftless family group, often weak in body and mind. The most dramatic instances of this are found in the children brought up in squalor and ignorance by some wretched family which has wandered into a lonely and desolate region of the hills. Not all such groups find their level in the slums; some have still the nomad instinct for solitary places. Here they strip off standards built up by the process of civilization. But in the villages also is found, here and there, the "run-out" stock which has remained inert during the period of city migration.

Weak heredity is, however, by no means the whole story. The environment, in contrast to the teeming life of streets, is a trouble

breeder by its very emptiness. People are not born knowing how to work; neither are they born knowing how to play. This is driven home nowhere more clearly than in these places where mere lack of space is not the factor which ties up the energy of children. The farm with its exaction of long and often laborious service draws them into the discipline of work even earlier than does the factory; but it does not teach them how to make use of what precious opportunities they have for sociability. To this need the loneliness of the open country and the "deadness" of the little town again and again make a stupid or a negative answer.

The children without older leadership and suggestion make their own response in an eruption of mischief. Fortunately it often ends here; but not infrequently it progresses to something worse. The serious misdemeanors usually take some form of theft or of sex offense.

Even the purposeless mischief is of a kind to merit concern. For it means nothing less than that the natural impulses of vigorous children are not being set to work, made to stretch and feel their muscles. Their activities degenerate into what is annoying and silly or, at its worst, vicious.

What about the school, to which society turns with this problem? The report shows how far the tiny educational unit in the back country, with its isolation and pitiful equipment, has been lagging behind. In spite of its honored tradition, the district school has not met modern demands.

The teacher has faced the problems of training children of every age from 6 to 17; of meeting their hunger for activity and stimulation; of disciplining older boys who have their own methods of providing excitement and, many times, of controlling an epidemic of indecency which spreads half under the surface. Into this situation has been sent some young girl, fresh from her own schooling. She has brought a dull, outworn program and method; she has found a bare room where, in winter, the children may have to gather around a stove in the corner. She has been given little beyond a supply of textbooks which may or may not be complete. The answer is found in the movement for the consolidation of rural schools, with its chance for better staff and equipment. With this must go some practical method of transportation.

The church holds a real and valuable place in the socializing of the country, but is making most unequal use of its opportunity. It has for competitors the tavern and the village store, but as compared with the city church it faces a gap. It needs to bring to it yet more interest and greater skill.

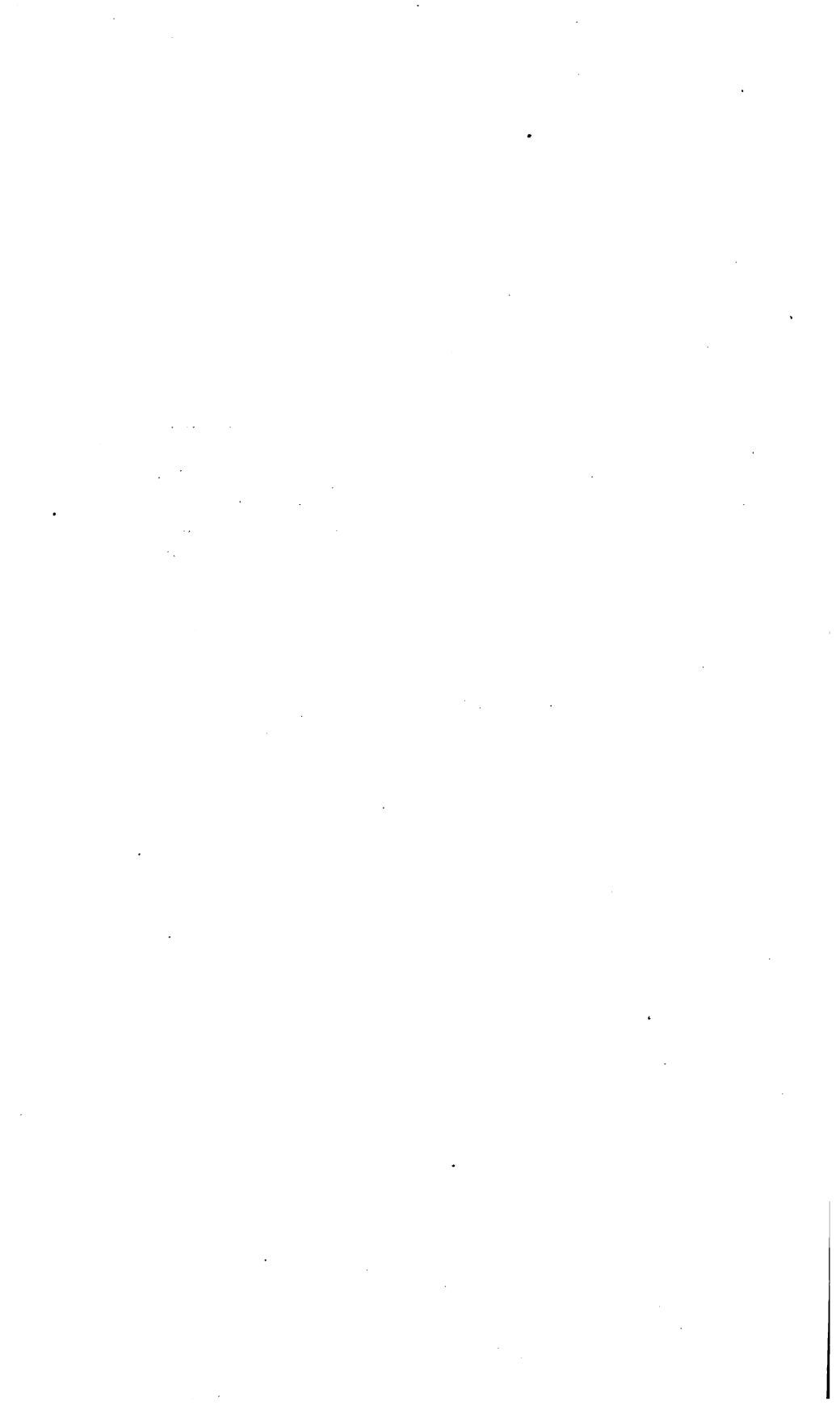
The compactness of the city makes the normal letting out of boys' energy a nuisance to others and brings about arrests for all manner

of trivial causes. Again, the city creates certain offenses. A country boy can not play ball or throw snowballs on crowded pavements; he can not sleep out in news alley or sell papers after the theater; he can not steal lead pipe from empty tenements or snatch fruit from peddlers' carts—misdeeds common in the records of city juvenile courts.

The rule works both ways. The greater leeway of the country breeds a lenience to conduct which for the child's own sake needs sterner treatment. Especially is this true in cases of improper guardianship. The local agencies of justice are inadequate; they are not well informed; in general the attention they give to children is cursory and can not be counted on to reach under the surface.

The elimination of the justice of the peace as a judge and probation officer for children is needed. As a logical sequence some system must be worked out which will extend the services of a modern juvenile court into small towns, villages, and outlying regions.





## PART I.—SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

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### THE PROBLEM.

The problem of juvenile delinquency is a matter of serious concern, rather because of that to which it leads than for what it is in itself. The actual present harm a child can do is limited by his undeveloped powers. His delinquencies are for the most part trivial in themselves, are undertaken for a lark, in the spirit of adventure, or for sheer curiosity, and very little through calculation of profit or through a deep-seated desire to injure somebody. The child has neither the power of mind and body nor the development of character necessary to the equipment of a deliberate and finished criminal, and as a matter of fact a large proportion of the "bad" children turn out to be fairly decent citizens.

But the results are not always so fortunate. Bad habits may become fixed; a criminal character may be formed. It is probably safe to say that of our adult criminals the majority showed some premonitory symptoms of delinquency in early youth and that proper treatment at that time might have prevented the later criminality.

A general impression is abroad that juvenile delinquency is peculiarly a problem of the cities and especially of the foreign population of the cities. In so far as this impression is based upon statistics of arraignments or commitments it must be verified from some other source, because of the unfitness of such statistics to give adequate information about the problem. In cities many acts which are disregarded in the country districts are punishable by law; and in cities the standard of enforcement of law, especially against children, is much more rigorous than in the country. The result is that the official record of rural juvenile delinquency is unduly low because it fails to include much bad conduct that is passed over without court action and soon forgotten but which, if committed in the city, would bring the children concerned to the judgment of the court and add their names to the list of delinquents.

For another reason, also, statistics of courts and institutions are misleading. If we try to pick out the "rural" delinquents from

court reports, we are baffled by the fact that the delinquents are classified by the place of arraignment and not by the place of residence; and often a country child committing an offense in the country is brought up for trial to, and committed from, the court of a larger town. And this confusion follows along to the institution records, which give—indiscriminately, and without possibility of distinguishing—as the place of origin the child's actual residence, or the residence of his parents (though he may have left home long before), or only the place from which he was committed.

#### SCOPE AND METHOD OF STUDY.

If there is a problem of rural juvenile delinquency, it can not be found or measured by the present currently collected official statistics. This study, then, goes back of the record of adjudged delinquency to the actual happenings in rural districts, with the purpose of following the history of these wrongdoings as they emerge in the community life and of relating them to the personal, family, and community influences that may have played a part in causing them.

In this study the main emphasis has been laid upon the social factors—the community surroundings and the family influences—partly because this is the side with which the present investigators were best equipped to deal and partly because such excellent intensive studies of delinquency in its relation to inherited characters have already been made. The purpose here is particularly to point out circumstances in the social environment which are harmful to children, and which may be altered by appropriate social action.

In taking up this study of "rural juvenile delinquency" it was necessary first of all to decide what we should consider "rural," what "juvenile," and what "delinquency."

The term "rural" by itself is most indefinite. On a purely numerical basis it may be, and has been, variously used in official statistics to designate communities of less than 10,000—ranging down to those of 1,200 or less. Furthermore, the community units may vary so much in acreage and in distribution of population that a scattered community of 8,000 may show more truly "rural" conditions, in the social sense of the word, than a community of 1,200 crowded together in some lively little industrial town.

It seemed best, in order to locate our problem, to define "rural" as meaning a locality of small and dispersed population, depending mainly upon agriculture for its livelihood. We wanted, in other words, to study the normal farming community and the small village life dependent upon the farms. The localities covered by the report, therefore, are either sparsely settled farming districts, without reference to any maximum limits of population of the census unit in which

they are situated, or villages and towns of less than 1,200 population. Most of these are less than 1,000.

For this study it was impossible to include all the localities in the State which could be thus defined. It also seemed unnecessary, for it was presumed that if localities were carefully chosen they would be representative of like conditions elsewhere in the same State and also in similar communities of other States. General districts for study were chosen, then, which should represent different parts of the State. In the choice of localities for study within these districts, recorded cases of delinquency, if there were any, proved a good starting point. If, for instance, one boy had been sent to an institution from a given village, that same place would probably disclose half a dozen other youngsters associated with him in delinquency with whom the law had not dealt. Going back into such a village, then, for which a case or cases of adjudged delinquency had been recorded, a complete survey of the village was made to find all cases of bad conduct. So the study of each community unit shows us, so far as the investigator could discover it, all the juvenile misdoing of that community.

The records of children's societies, the reports of adult delinquency and poor relief, and even the general reputation of a community in the neighborhood proved to be excellent clues leading to communities where juvenile delinquency was found.

In the next place, what is "juvenile"? The law establishing juvenile courts in New York State cites all children under 16. In this study, however, some young people over 16 at the time of the investigation were studied, partly for the sake of their earlier history of delinquency within the legal limit of juvenility, and partly to suggest the desirability of raising that limit to at least 18. For the investigators found many cases where the young people concerned, between 16 and 20, were far from being "adults" in any responsible sense. They were children—unformed, impressionable, ignorant, and needing guidance and care as much as those within the legal limit.

Most important of all, what is "delinquency"? It has already been pointed out that the test of court procedure is an artificial one. We must go back of prosecuted misdeeds to the acts themselves. Here it is difficult to draw a line between the serious and the trivial. It seems unfair to brand as delinquency all sorts of minor mischief in which most children indulge and which most of them outgrow. But out of this minor mischief may spring something more serious. On the other hand, even in the more distinctly delinquent activities of children there is to be found much of the unconscious impulsiveness of the mischievous child.

The way to solve this difficulty seemed to be to include in the study all the children generally regarded as "bad" in the neighborhood, describing the content of the "badness" in concrete terms, thus making it possible for the reader himself to make the classification that best suits his purpose.

This method brings to our attention all varieties of childish misconduct—the "badness" that is really bad and duly punished, the "badness" that is such only because some one has decided it should be punished, and the "badness" that ought to be dealt with and is not.

Consequently, the terms "delinquent" and "delinquency," as used in this report, are to be understood in this broader sense and not as technical terms based upon legal definitions and procedure.

To throw further light upon the behavior of children, upon community influences, and, specifically, upon methods of treatment of juvenile delinquency, a case study was made at the State agricultural and industrial school at Industry, one of the three State institutions for delinquent children.

The report, as here presented, consists of a summary of results and recommendations based upon the community and institution studies, followed by studies of 21 different communities in the State, giving their general characteristics and all cases of delinquency found in each one.

#### ACCURACY OF DATA.

Throughout, the difficulty has been apparent of securing absolutely accurate information on a matter involving such complex elements of life and character as juvenile delinquency.

In the community surveys the investigators had to proceed with the greatest tact and caution and yet be alive to the slightest indication of the facts desired, in order to secure the material needed. All available sources of information were used—families were visited, and also teachers in the schools, the village minister, the local justice of the peace, and all social agencies concerned with the neighborhoods. The investigators naturally had to depend for information upon what was told them and to make allowance for a natural tendency of the families involved in the delinquency to minimize wrongdoing, and of outsiders to exaggerate it. They were ready to meet a certain amount of unfriendliness and reserve, and to make use of all their powers of persuasion to secure the facts they wished. They found, however, a general willingness to talk about the problems concerned. Even the families where wrongdoing had occurred for the most part welcomed the investigator without question, and in many cases were glad to pour out their troubles and ask advice.

There was, moreover, little contradiction between the stories told by the families and those told outside. In all cases the investigators checked up the accounts given by one person by the statements of others and found remarkable agreement. Sometimes sheer neighborhood gossip is admitted as part of a story, but where this is the case it is plainly indicated in the account.

The findings of the community studies, then, have not the accuracy of a mathematical demonstration; they are rather social portraits, which we trust will carry their own conviction with them.

The case study made at Industry was found to have little value as a contribution to the case and community study. The information was gained largely from the children themselves and without full verification or study of the community at first hand, and therefore might be misleading. Consequently the case records and results of interviews with children at Industry are not given except in brief summary in this report. The chief value of the institution study is the light it throws upon treatment.

### AMOUNT OF RURAL DELINQUENCY.

This study does not answer the question left unanswered by statistics—what is the actual amount of rural delinquency, both in itself and as compared with the city? The community studies are intensive and descriptive in nature, and the number of communities and of cases covered is too small to afford a trustworthy basis for ratios of cases to population. Furthermore, no ratios have been worked out between city populations and all cases of bad conduct whether or not they were brought before court. Only if made out upon this basis, would such figures be comparable with those of this study.

The institution studies will not serve this purpose, for they are under the limitations already mentioned for institutional records; that is, they give only adjudged cases; they do not determine the residence accurately; hence we have only a selected group. Commitments to different institutions are made in different proportions from different places, therefore ratios to population based upon commitments to one institution only would be unfair.

We can say, however, from the facts brought to light, that there is a problem of juvenile delinquency in rural districts and that it is a serious one. During the investigation little communities were found which at first sight appeared to have no problem yet, after study, each yielded up a quota of "bad" children of various grades. The showing in the pages of the report may well bring doubt into the minds of readers who are under a delusion that their own neighborhoods are free from taint.

## NATURE OF DELINQUENCY.

The community surveys give an account in greater or less detail of 185 children or young people who were implicated in some sort of wrongdoing or treated as if they had been. Of these, 119 were boys and 66 were girls. That is, a little less than two-thirds were boys; a little over one-third, girls. The scale of offenses begins with general waywardness, sometimes no more than mischief. Then more serious misdoings develop emerging into two groups—offenses against property and sex delinquencies.

As we look over these surveys to find what the children actually do, we see in all the communities first a group of children who are generally "naughty" in domestic parlance—"incorrigible" in the stern and formal language of the law. Among them are some very young children. One boy of 10 is noted as "wayward"; a girl of 11 is "incorrigible"; a girl of 8 "acted like a wild animal"; two boys, one of 5 and another of 7, jabbed a horse with a pitchfork and did other bad things. This naughtiness takes many different forms. Some are hard to manage at home—they will not "mind." A considerable number get their reputation for "badness" by mischief in school—annoying the teacher and the other children, creating disturbance, refusing to obey. One is a willful truant. Sometimes they are cruel to animals. Many times their "badness" takes the form of general destructiveness engaged in as a sport and by gangs. We note a sliding scale of damage, from the boy who laid squashes (which he had pilfered) in the road to hear them pop under the wagon wheels, to the boys who wrecked the picnic grounds—bandstand, seats, and closets.

In other groups, somewhat more definitely bad conduct emerges, specializing along two main lines; offenses against decency (sex offenses) and offenses against property (stealing or fraud). Sex troubles begin at a very early age. In school we find little children of 8 or 10, or even younger, carrying on bad practices, sometimes as a new game of which they do not even know the meaning, taught them by older children. Little groups write indecencies to one another or scrawl them on the walls of the closets and, during the unsupervised noon hour or on the way to or from school, expose their persons or do other indecent things. Here and there a young child, sexually precocious, is seen to be the ringleader.

A considerable part of this trouble among the younger children seems to be brought about by sheer curiosity, and love of a "secret"—the attraction of something forbidden by and unknown to their elders—and only in part by genuine sex inclination.

As the children grow older and their sex feelings develop, we find them as instructors in vice to the little ones and involved in more serious sex complications of their own.

Among the older girls and boys are found cases of forced marriage after pregnancy. In some of these cases the affair is the result of personal choice, the boy and girl having slipped into this situation either through ignorance or in anticipation of marriage, and from present indications are likely to get along fairly well. In one case the situation was entered into deliberately by the man and the girl to force the consent of the parents to the marriage.

Then there are cases of seduction, where no marriage is intended. It is not customary to look upon girls misled in this way as delinquents but as victims. And this certainly is true in cases of rape, one or two of which are presented in this report; and in some of the cases, after the initial offense of rape, a life of sex promiscuity has been forced upon a girl who neither cares for it nor understands what it means. But in some instances this offense against a girl may be the starting point of real delinquency. There is also a considerable number of girls called "wild"—the type that runs around at night after men and boys and hangs around the railroad station or the village tavern.

In cases where the girl's male associate is under 18 we take into consideration the boy and his part in the delinquency, according to the plan adopted of studying children up to that age. Sometimes he appears as the more or less innocent partner, sometimes as a seducer. Sometimes he is the associate of an older, more experienced woman, who has perhaps seduced him. Again there are cases of abnormal sexuality. In two instances boys of 13 and 14 attempted criminal assault upon children—one a girl and one a boy. In another case one very small boy badly injured another.

Among the offenses which can be grouped as those against property, some cases emerge naturally out of undifferentiated mischief. The boy who wanted to hear the squashes "pop" had to steal them from a farmer. Other boys stole the ice cream from the back porch to have some fun. A large group of the boys whose main offense is against property have taken horses, wagons, bicycles, fruit, and chickens. Some of these have done this purely for mischief, but some, at parental instigation, for the family profit, and some because they really wanted the things—the adult thief's reason. Another considerable group are technically "burglars," major offenders in the terms of the law for adults, because their offense involves "breaking and entering," breaking into a house or store for miscellaneous plunder—clothing, food, a lamp, candy, or cigarettes.



Here, too, in the histories one may see the element of mischief and love of adventure. Next in frequency is a group of young children who are characterized as "light-fingered." This is manifested largely in school or at the neighbors', and consists in picking up various interesting trifles that catch the children's eye. Sometimes the pilfering is instigated by worthless parents as part of the means of livelihood. A considerable number of cases are of this nature. And in some cases the "stealing" consisted in taking from father or brother money or supplies the boy or girl wanted for some special purpose. But in only a few instances was a child found who stole things outside the family for a serious utilitarian purpose of his own.

A number of offenses against property, that we might perhaps count as "fraud" rather than stealing (following a distinction made in classification of adult criminals), did not show the spirit of adventure, but a distinctly calculating turn of mind. Fraudulent transactions were planned and carried through. Boys collected money due their parents and kept it; one boy pocketed money collected from others to pay for a window they had jointly broken. A girl solicited subscriptions to magazines and kept the money, and so on.

In one case included in this study the child had committed no offense at all. He was homeless and destitute, but because the townspeople were afraid he would become delinquent and because a justice committed him to an institution for delinquents, thereby making him strictly a "delinquent" in the technical sense, his case is given with the rest.

### PROPORTION IN EACH CLASS OF DELINQUENCY.

In what relative proportion do we find the three main groups—the mischievous, the sex offenders, and the offenders against property? In judging the actual prevalence of a given class of offense from the number of cases actually found, it must be borne in mind that a higher proportion of offenses against property will be generally known than of sex offenses. Persons whose property is appropriated are naturally aware of this occurrence and have no hesitation in speaking about it, whereas the knowledge and practice of sex offenses are in the main confined to the circle of sex offenders. Even innocent victims hesitate to give any information for fear of the discredit it casts upon themselves. Consequently, the groups of boys and girls shown in the report engaged in bad sex practices in school are presumably typical of groups in other schools, whose conduct has not been brought to the attention of parents or teachers. The record of sex offenses for the older boys is undoubtedly very incomplete, while the record for the older girls is probably more nearly

complete, since their activities are more conspicuous in a small community and the consequences more difficult to conceal.

In fact, possibly the record for the older girls is even larger than it should be by the inclusion of cases where there is no direct evidence of delinquency. This is definitely stated in each case, however, and in each the investigator has been personally convinced of the girl's character by the amount and nature of the testimony.

Again, in making comparisons it must be remembered that a considerable number of children are known to have committed more than one class of offense. This was the case with 30 children of the 185 studied. In the discussion we have classified these 30 under the head of the leading or most conspicuous class of misdeed committed by them.

Moreover, the investigator may not have unearthed all the misconduct of every child, hence there must be some whose open record of "stealing" and of being "incorrigible" covers some hidden sex delinquency, which thus escapes our count.

But grouping the 185 children studied according to the known offenses of greatest seriousness in each case, we find 41 to be classed as "incorrigible" only, 68 involved in sex difficulties of some sort, and 75 who had stolen or were engaged in fraudulent transactions—a little over one-fifth under the heading "incorrigible," a little less than two-fifths under "sex offenses," and about two-fifths under "property offenses." This excludes the one boy who did not commit any offense but was included among the 185 cases because he had been committed to an institution for delinquents.

Of the "incorrigible" cases 35 were boys, 6 girls; of the younger sex offenders 10 were boys, 8 girls; of the older sex offenders 9 were boys, 41 girls; and of the offenders against property 64 were boys and 11 girls. This shows a decidedly greater tendency to "incorrigible" behavior and to stealing for boys than for girls. For the younger sex offenders the numbers are about the same. For older sex offenders the preponderance of girls is partly explained by the circumstance mentioned above, that the sex delinquencies of girls are less easily concealed, and by the further fact that the histories show for a large number of the delinquent girls between 14 and 18 a male partner of adult age. It can not safely be said, then, that girls are more inclined to sex offenses than boys. It can be said, however, that these histories show among the girls themselves a greater inclination to sex offenses than to stealing or general incorrigibility.

### PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

What personal characters are associated with the young delinquents? Are they bright or stupid, lively or dull, healthy or sickly?



that nearly 30 per cent of all children studied are noticeably and conspicuously active and energetic—of the “leader” type.

With regard to physique we find about 30 cases mentioned where there is noticeable physical defect—diseased conditions of some sort, retarded growth, and so on. In about 20 cases a superabundance of physical development is noted, sometimes in connection with the “stupid” type of mind.

Looking over the case histories and such summary figures as we are able to use, we find emerging distinctly two general types of character: The active, enterprising, intelligent child—the born leader—and the duller and more stupid child, the natural complement and accomplice and victim of the first type. Many instances of such partnerships will be seen in the case histories. The obviously defective child is in the minority.

### FAMILY CONDITIONS.

The next question to ask is, What are the family conditions surrounding the child delinquent?

#### COMPOSITION OF THE FAMILY.

The 185 children studied belong to 144 different families (counting as “families” the three cases where the child had no home). Of these no record was made of the composition of 14 families, but of the 130 for which record was made 72 (56 per cent) were headed by the child’s own father and mother, legally and duly married before the child was born. In two more families the first but not the last condition was fulfilled; the father and mother had been married to legitimate the child. In eight families the heads were a man and woman—one or the other the parent of the child in question—living together but not married to each other. In seven families there was a stepfather or stepmother married to the child’s own parent. In six families the children were under the care of a grandparent; in six families under the care of some more distant relative. In 18 families the head was a widow or widower or mother separated from her husband; six were foster families; three children had no home. In two instances the head of the family was an unmarried mother.

Noticeable here is the fact that for over half the cases a “broken home” can not be held accountable; over half the child delinquents were living in families headed by a married father and mother, living together, from whom normal parental care, sufficient to keep a child from delinquency, might have been expected.

Is there any connection between the composition of the family and the various types of offenses? The numbers are too small to afford

any basis for final conclusion, but it may perhaps be significant, and it does accord with what we might expect, that families headed by persons living in irregular sex relations had more than their share of the older sex offenders. Families where stepmother or stepfather shared the headship, or where the heads were grandparents or more distant relatives of the children studied, had a high proportion of "incorrigibles" and younger sex offenders. The families headed by only one parent had far more than their share of "incorrigibles."

The family normal in constitution—that is, headed by father and mother, living together and duly married to each other—on the other hand, had a heavy proportion of the offenders against property.

Why has the normal family such a heavy percentage of juvenile pilfering to its discredit? Reference to the histories indicate that in a number of cases it is due to direct parental influence. The stealing was done at the instigation of the parents and in partnership with them. On the other hand, the higher proportion of sex offenders in the irregular families (small though the numbers are) indicates an equally direct pressure on the child by an immoral parent. This will appear more clearly when we look more closely into the character of the parents or guardians.

#### PARENTAL DEFECTS.

Taking up these families "normal" in constitution, how far are they "normal" in the elements of control? The case histories in their accounts of the parents, from observation and from general neighborhood testimony, give a fairly clear picture of them. As we look through the 72 "normal" family case histories we find that in almost two-thirds the investigator has noted some obvious disability or inefficiency in both parents—some trait or quality that was plainly unfavorable to the successful rearing of children. Next in number were the cases where one fairly "good" parent was handicapped by the other, who was either positively bad or negatively inefficient. In very few, indeed, the investigator found both father and mother apparently well equipped to cope with the problem of rearing offspring properly. Possibly the investigators, looking critically for all possible influences favorable to delinquency, might have found few parents altogether satisfactory, even if they had studied families where no juvenile delinquency had as yet occurred. But the individual descriptions are convincing that, whatever happens in families that escape delinquency, here at least are conditions favorable to its development.

What are the specific defects found in parents or guardians? The records of the 144 families, including not only the present guardians but parents who, at the time of the investigation, had died or gone away but whose histories are given, furnish the answer. Of the men,

43 were noted as addicted to drink; 21 implicated in some sort of sex irregularity—such as living in irregular relations with a woman, abusing his own daughter, keeping an immoral resort, or performing illegal operations; 10 were of noticeably low mentality; 8 were described as “ignorant”; 8 had a record of stealing or fraud of some kind; 7 were shiftless and inefficient; 6 were cruel. Of the women, 31 were sexually immoral; 13 were ignorant; 8 were of low mentality; 12 were shiftless and inefficient; 3 more were unable to make a comfortable home because they “hated housework” though they enjoyed outdoor work on the farm; 3 were addicted to drink; 2 had a record of stealing; 1 begged; 1 was epileptic.

The most frequently recorded failing for the men was drunkenness; for the women, sex immorality. But here again, as in the case of the boy and girl delinquents, it must be remembered that sex failings are the most difficult to trace, and they are more difficult to trace in men than in women. It is, then, a safe conclusion that the men were more given to drink than the women, but it is not a safe conclusion that the women were more prone to sex vice than the men.

The families of normal composition show various combinations of paternal and maternal defect. One frequent type is the union of a rough, domineering, drunken father with an ignorant, downtrodden, inefficient mother. On the other hand an overbearing, energetic woman, irregular in sex relations, will be found married to some well-meaning but slack and inefficient man, quite unable to control the bad family conditions created by his more vigorous life partner.

May special types of delinquency be connected with special types of parental defect? This can not be done with any exactness because the number of cases is too small; but it is at least worthy of note that in every case in which there was a record of parental stealing or fraud there was also a case of juvenile stealing. In addition, other records which do not report any instance of theft for the parents themselves show their influence in inciting their children to dishonesty. The child steals because the parent has encouraged or ordered him to do so; but in the majority of cases no such direct connection is shown. The parent has a reputation of pilfering or of shady transactions in the past; the child's present delinquency is stealing. The connection between parental and filial delinquency may be only the low moral standard of the family on this particular matter.

On the other hand, considerably over half the parents or guardians with a record of sex irregularity were found in the group of families—somewhat over one-third, but much less than one-half the whole number—where the most important recorded juvenile delinquency was a sex offense. In some instances the connection is direct and implied in the nature of the case, as where a girl is a sex “delinquent” because her father or guardian has violated her or

sold her to other men. In other cases an immoral mother has taken a young girl or child with her on her own immoral excursions. In still others there is apparently no such connection. And it is worthy of note that a considerable number of the juvenile sex offenders had parents of good reputation with regard to sex matters.

The "incorrigible" cases showed the largest proportion of parents noted as "inefficient," which is about what we should expect.

#### TYPES OF PARENTAL DISCIPLINE.

Some frequently recurring special types of parental treatment catch the attention on going through the case studies and seem worthy of separate mention. In many of the cases, for instance, parents are seen to be stingy and grasping in money matters in relation to the child. They do not allow him any pocket money or they put him at hard work and take away all his earnings; they keep him out of school to help with farm work. The bad effect of such treatment upon the child is obvious. It seems as if it could not be too urgently impressed upon parents that nothing is more likely to ruin the influence of parent over child and embitter the child against the parent than injustice in money matters. And this is only too frequent in country districts. At the other extreme, some parents lavish money unwisely upon their children, to their harm; but instances of this appear to be far less numerous than of the other class.

Parental discipline generally seems also to show the same two extremes of inefficiency. A considerable number of the fathers attempt to exert a stern discipline, which on the one hand is often seen to result in vociferous but unfulfilled threats of punishment; on the other, in utterly unintelligent beatings and abuse. In other cases in these records there appears the fond and foolish parent who thinks the child is "wonderful" and maintains no discipline at all.

#### HOME SURROUNDINGS.

What has the general condition of the home to do with juvenile delinquency? The investigators noted conditions found in 79 homes in such a way that they may be classified roughly as "bad" and "good" in regard to the physical surroundings, with especial emphasis on cleanliness and comfort rather than on mere ugliness and disorder. Doing this we may call 35 of the homes noted "good" and 44 "bad"—considerably more than half. And dividing them by classes of offense we find the highest proportion of good homes among the sex offenders, the lowest among the child offenders against property.

## SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PLANE.

It is impossible to generalize definitely from the material here presented as to the social or economic level of the juvenile offenders. The case histories record many families living on a very low plane—really degraded or depressed families. The proportion of “bad” homes is a slight indication of this. Again families appear which are decidedly poor and live plainly, but which are well up to the normal level of the community where they live. In some cases the juvenile delinquents belong to “the best families in town.” In some there is considerable prosperity and culture. One type of family does appear in these pages fairly often—the family of the tenant farmer, who works hard but unintelligently, gets a meager return for his labors, and moves frequently. There appears to be a distinct social menace in this condition.

We find also a type of family, rovers like the tenant farmers, where the head has no regular occupation. They stay in one place perhaps a year or two and then move to another. It is obvious that this situation is not favorable for rearing a family properly, and in such families illegal absence from school is especially frequent, for town officers can not keep track of them.

## CONFIRMATION BY INSTITUTION STUDY.

The study of the cases at Industry, in so far as trustworthy information regarding the history and surroundings of the children is available, not only confirms the findings of the community studies, but gives them a more general application, since the institution cases were from a much wider territory than that covered in the community studies.

One difference which might be expected does not exist. We might expect to find here a selected group of more serious offenders than the average of the village, since they have been considered “bad” enough to commit to an institution. But, as a matter of fact, the children seem no worse than the usual “bad boy” of the village—indeed, they seem less delinquent. For a considerable proportion of the cases are like those of the one child found in the community study who had done nothing bad himself, but was committed to an institution for delinquents because he had no home. Or they were like the children studied whose “badness” lay chiefly in the definition of the people who dealt with them. Therefore the two groups were not unlike.

Of 31 cases for which records were most satisfactory, 10 showed the chief trouble to be a broken home or lack of responsibility on the



part of the parents rather than delinquency of the child, though 5 of the children were committed as "ungovernable." In only 1 of the 10 cases did the child have an own father and mother living together in a home. In none of the 10 was there any official record of really ungovernable conduct, but 1 child, on being interviewed, admitted that he smoked with "other bad boys" and would not mind his mother and ran about the village evenings. In the other cases the circumstances recorded plainly indicated that poverty was the real cause of commitment. Five of the boys had worked for farmers, and in 3 cases there were indications that the farmer had abused the boy.

Of the entire 120 children committed from towns and villages of less than 2,000, 19 were probably subnormal, as indicated by the tests made at the institution.

Fifty-two of the 120 cases showed traces of school trouble of one kind or another, but only 16 were committed to Industry as a direct result of this trouble. Out of 6 of these cases for which records were full enough to be worth study the technical charge of commitment was in 4 of the cases "ungovernable," in 1 "improper guardianship," and in 1 "riding freights." Three of the boys (2 of them foreign) had no proper home discipline and were truants in the course of a general "running wild." The father of a fourth boy is a shiftless farm laborer who moves about from place to place. The boy says he can remember 19 different homes. This roving life naturally led to truancy and probably to general demoralization. But some instinct for industry was at work in the boy, as well as thirst for sociability and adventure, for his final offense consisted in running away in company with another boy with a threshing gang, with whom he earned money to pay for his food by carrying water and pitching straw. Another boy played truant because he thought he had been in school long enough and was anxious to get to work. He was in the eighth grade and could have secured working papers, but his father would not let him—he wanted the boy to be "educated." The sixth boy, a Polish boy of 14, did not play truant. His offense consisted in knocking the teacher down when she attempted to punish him for writing an improper note to a girl. The boy had been truant, however, in the past. He is described as a large, stolid, ignorant boy, whose time out of school had been spent in hard farm work without any recreation. He had never even been to the "movies" until he was sent to Industry. These school difficulties parallel those found in the communities.

In about one-half the 120 cases the chief cause of the boys' commitment was larceny; in about 40 this was the only cause. Where there was sufficient material for an adequate judgment it was found that in most cases the nature of and motives for the offense was the

same as in the community studies. Some of the boys appear blame-worthy in fact; some do not—the following eight, for example:

One boy, who seemed really industrious and good, with some other boys took blankets from a cottage to keep warm while they were working as choppers for a country inn during the winter, when the cottages were closed. Another worked hard, but liked a good time, and stole to have money to spend. Another (a case described in detail in the community studies), brought up in a happy-go-lucky family, stole a bicycle in an entirely irresponsible way. Another boy wanted a bicycle and stole money to buy it; but his case seemed to be one of too much responsibility. His father drank, his own life consisted of un-remitting hard work and no play, and the bicycle seemed an irresistible temptation. A French-Canadian boy, rather too enterprising for his family, stole chickens to sell them; while another, with a sick mother and a cruel father who would not provide for his family, stole money to get food. Another boy, regarded in the institution as "very bright but troublesome," had been a great rover, going from place to place to work at different jobs, and had been arrested twice for truancy. He finally stole \$25 from a farmer for whom he was working to buy a railroad ticket and some clothes to go out West. For this offense he was sent to Industry.

The two remaining boys, both tiny little chaps 10 years old, were committed together for a midnight burglary. They and another boy, aged 7, broke into a store and stole candy, money, shoes, and a coat. It was their first offense.

In all but one case there was a definite record of bad home conditions, and, as has been said, this appears to be the one mark of distinction between the juvenile thief who is sent to an institution and the one who is not. The commitment may be made quite as much because there is no one to look after the child as because he has stolen, the actual offense being passed over with a warning if there are parents who can be held responsible for future good behavior.

## COMMUNITY CONDITIONS.

What have community influences to do with producing juvenile delinquency? First let us look at the general setting—physical and social.

### TYPES OF COMMUNITIES.

Within the bounds of our definition of "rural" the separate communities studied had a considerable range of variation in character. One type is the little country village—the trading center of a surrounding agricultural district. Its population is made up mainly of the native-born white of native parentage—the old American stock—and is decreasing rather than increasing because its young men and

women, as fast as they grow up, are caught in the current flowing to the large towns and cities.

Going out of the village center, and "on the hills" perhaps, we come upon little aggregations of people, not big enough for a village group nor yet wholly isolated on scattered farms. Such aggregations may gather about some crossroads or straggle along some secondary highway. Here the conditions described for the village are in most respects exaggerated for the worse. These little centers, too, are often the survival of better days, and there has been an even greater drain on the population than on that of the village. And this has resulted even more definitely in a survival of the least fit. As a net result the little isolated settlement is apt to be of a distinctly lower grade. There is less intelligence and activity; the social standard is lower.

Still farther away from the center we come to the isolated farm where many of our cases are found. This may be a good, pleasant, decent home, but its owners are so far away from social influences of any kind that they find it hard to take advantage of them. On the other hand, the isolated dwelling may be a tumble-down old shack to which have withdrawn a family group too inefficient to maintain themselves in an organized community, or too vicious to be tolerated there. Here we reach almost the negation of social life. Practically all good influences are wanting. This is such an extreme type, and the evil influences so obvious, that it was thought undesirable to devote much time to hunting out examples of it. It seemed better to lay emphasis on the normal community, the "country village" that even yet holds a large proportion of our native citizens, rather than on the degenerate "hill people" who are comparatively few in numbers. But such families were not avoided when they came within the range of our study, and several instances will be found described.

A step was also taken in the other direction—into villages where there is a background of agricultural prosperity in the surrounding farming district, and into villages feeling the stimulus of industrial development and either growing into towns or showing the social effects that come from contact with such towns. Sometimes being in the neighborhood of the large town emphasizes the "deadness" of the little town. The young people get away more easily to cheap amusements—the moving pictures, the cheap theaters, the garish saloons, the evening promenade along the brightly lighted town thoroughfare—and find their own village the duller by contrast. And they are more rapidly drained away permanently by the industrial opportunities nearer at hand.

Industrial activity may strike the village itself. Small factories start up, and a factory population is established. Foreigners begin

to come in, and the original social homogeneity of the American country village is lost. It is interesting to note, however, that foreigners appear to have been little involved in the delinquency found.

Still another type (also included in the study) is the country village which has felt the stimulus of industry by becoming the summer or suburban residence of people who have achieved prosperity in the industrial centers. Here a very distinct social stratification is set up, in which "the natives" is a term in common use almost as patronizing as "the foreigners," used in the cities. Such communities have resources for maintaining more extended social activity—better schools, better churches, organized play—for the building up of the social ideal. The danger here is that the improvements may not really take root in the community on which they are superimposed.

#### ECONOMIC BACKGROUND.

Next to take into account is the economic background. In general, in the communities studied it is that of the farm and of agriculture. The usual complaint in the average country district is that "farming does not pay." This means that the old-fashioned farms and farming of our early years are being displaced by the opening of more fertile districts, the introduction of more effective methods, requiring greater intelligence and more capital than the old-style farmer had. In one region studied the attempt is made to carry on farming in the old ways. Here a large proportion of the farmers are poor. Two-thirds of those who have records in the farm bureau have labor incomes<sup>1</sup> varying from below \$200 to \$500 a year. Of this two-thirds, one-fourth make from \$100 to \$200, while one-fifth have no labor income at all. And in the hill districts the abandoned farms are more numerous than the cultivated.

Such unfavorable economic conditions mean poor and insanitary living conditions, overwork, lack of recreation, and difficulties in the way of making use of educational opportunity.

Another region studied is, as a whole, rich and flourishing. Its population is increasing rapidly. Land values are constantly rising everywhere. It is, in fact, a land of milk and honey, of large, imposing farmhouses and enormous barns, of beautiful automobile highways winding their way between miles and miles of apple trees and peach trees and vineyards. Nearly every farmer owns an automobile, their boys go to college and their girls go to the various normal and training schools. There is a high level of comfortable living and progressive Americanism.<sup>2</sup> The village population is

<sup>1</sup> Labor income: The amount that the farm operator has left for his labor after the farm expenses and 5 per cent interest on the average capital invested are deducted from the farm receipts. Bulletin 410, p. 4, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington.

largely made up of retired farmers, who have either leased their farms or sold them and come to the village to live.

These villagers are often wealthy, owning several farms within a radius of 5 or 6 miles. There are high schools in the larger villages and the children of the well to do drive in from their farms in comfortable carriages drawn by sleek horses.

But in this region, too, out from the villages, back from the fertile farms, will be found rocky, infertile districts where poverty-stricken tenant farmers find it hard to make a living.

In all but one of the communities studied the farm and its work are seen to be a powerful influence in the child's life, especially that of the boy. The boy living in a farming district is expected, as soon as he is big enough to hold a hoe, to do his part in the work of either his father's or some one else's farm.

Even where farmers are prosperous and farming pays, the work the boy has to do is hard and lonesome. If the boy is at work on his father's farm, the father is in no hurry to pay him wages, wishes to keep up the parental control indefinitely, and the boy gets tired of it and wants to get away.

Then somebody else's boy must be hired. And the farmer is not always considerate or reasonable in his treatment of him. In the cases studied are a number of instances where a boy has gone to work for a farmer or has been placed with one by some society or institution and has been badly overworked and misused. More than once the act of delinquency covered under the former charge "incorrigible" or "vagrant" consisted in running away from a farmer for whom the boy was working. It must not be concluded that in all these cases there was misuse of the boy, but it may be assumed from the evidence at hand in these instances and others that usually there was some bad condition from which the boy wished to get away.

One of the cases was that of an 11-year-old boy at Industry who, before his commitment to the institution, had been placed with a farmer, but was so abused by these foster parents that he was removed by the truant officer.

An interview with the boy brought out the fact that the farm where he lived was 7 miles from the village. When asked what he did to have a good time he replied that he "used to plow and drag and milk and go to see the boys evenings." The farmer used to whip him for poor work and also refused to buy the necessary school books for him.

Besides being hard on the boy physically, farm work causes truancy, since there is a constant inducement to keep the boy out at harvest time and at spring planting to work.

Farm work under prevailing conditions in the rural districts is, then, not only hard on the children while they are young, but affords little opportunity for the future.

This evil, however, is becoming more and more clearly recognized, and plans of one kind and another are already being tried in many places for the betterment of farm conditions.

In New York State the State department of agriculture and Cornell University are active in promoting measures for the benefit of the farmers. Of the 55 counties in New York State 26 are each provided with a county farm bureau, organized under the State department of agriculture. These farm bureaus undertake various projects, according to the needs and desires of the counties in which they work, along the general lines of study of farms through gathering records of farm operations and instruction of farmers in modern methods.

Some of the communities studied are situated in counties thus provided; others are not. In some places the farm bureau assists in carrying on the work of the achievement clubs to be described later.

Then there is the grange—the farmers' own organization that has extended throughout the country. In some of the neighborhoods studied the granges are becoming more active along educational lines and in providing recreation for the young people.

In one region the grange offers scholarships to deserving young grangers for a course in agriculture at a State university. They also send a group of boys and girls to the county fair each year, and to Farmers' Week at a neighboring university town, and cooperate with the schools in encouraging the achievement-club activity.

A well-organized "achievement club" in the schools of one region has done some successful pioneer work in connecting the school and the farm. This club grew out of a boys' club which was organized 15 years ago in a large town by a public-spirited citizen with the idea of giving city boys an opportunity to know the country and to work on a farm and at vocational work. In the winter 50 or 60 boys work in "the shop" every night after school and on Saturdays; in the summer they run a farm about 5 miles from the city. Later the founder of the club extended his work to poultry clubs in the city schools and urged the development of such work in the country schools. These clubs were started in 1910, and have grown to a membership of 600 during the last year. During the past two years over 1,500 boys and girls have been given study and practice in raising pure-bred poultry, in growing potatoes of the best quality, and in making bread. During 1914, 478 settings of eggs, 403 bread tins, and 377 bags of potatoes were given out as prizes to successful contestants. This

work, though organized in clubs, is directly connected with the school. Pupils join the achievement club as volunteers and undertake one or two of the projects, which are potato raising, poultry raising, bread baking, cake baking, flower raising, and the study of bird life. The teacher, with the help of "pointers" furnished her, instructs the children in the various projects. Each school club has a leader chosen from the pupils. The actual work is done at home. Reports must be made monthly by all pupils who undertake the work, and in the autumn achievement-club fairs are held, where the results are exhibited, judged, and prizes are awarded. The fairs are often widely attended by parents and friends of the children, and tend to arouse the people's interest in the school and in country life. Each of several granges pays the expenses of one of the prize winners to Farmers' Week at the near-by university town, and the boy or girl delegate is then expected to present a paper on the trip before the particular grange.

The success of the achievement club depends largely on the interest and initiative of the teacher, but in some schools the pupils have urged the teacher to start a club and have been the moving force.

The material fruits of the achievement-club work can already be seen in the splendid flocks of snow-white leghorn chickens which have replaced the old mixed breeds in one region. The effect which it may have on the problems of truancy, staying out to work, and the drift of boys and girls away from the farm can not yet be measured.

In the country village there is little of the child labor of the kind of which we usually think under that term—regular work in a factory or shop, under insanitary conditions, with long hours and low pay. Children are employed at odd jobs, but this does not seem to oppress them much physically. We see in the case studies, however, bad moral results coming from employment, as in the instances of boys working in a pool room or bowling alley.

For the child's future about all that the village offers in the way of employment, beyond going out to the country to work on a farm, are a few ill-paid clerkships, the one or two teaching positions in the village schools, and odd jobs at railroad manual labor of various kinds. Even the skilled workers who used to make a good living in the village supplying the needs of the village—the blacksmith, the carpenter, the painter—have lost their old monopoly of village custom through the growing centralization of industry.

Throughout the investigation are seen instances where domestic service has proved a pitfall for young girls. For example, one girl whose case is presented here had every opportunity and incentive

to lead an immoral life with the young men boarders in the place where she worked; in another case a girl was criminally assaulted by a boarder or member of the family where she was at service; more than one other girl was seduced by some member of the family. It would appear that here is an evil situation which should be recognized and dealt with in some way.

### THE RURAL CHURCH.

Turning to the social side of country life, we find the church the one generally approved social institution for all ages. Its activity is seen to range from the performance of public worship, without other contracts, to hearty participation in the community life as a whole. The extent and nature of its activities seem to depend largely upon the personality of the minister. He is usually very poorly paid, is sometimes ignorant, sometimes indifferent, but often in the most discouraging surroundings is eager, devoted, socially minded, and laborious in trying to arouse church and community to a sense of their mutual relation and obligation. In part, the tradition of a particular denomination determines the extent of the church's social activity. But whatever the cause—the minister, the denominational tradition, or the prejudices of the people themselves—in some communities the church appears as a positive hindrance to the development of a wholesome social life by its hostile attitude toward certain forms of amusement, or indeed toward any amusement at all. In others it goes to the opposite extreme in its laxity.

The activities of the churches described in the community studies indicate ways in which even the very active church may be opening the road to harm in one direction while assiduously closing it in another. Socials where young people play rough games and go home late at night unchaperoned form an example.

At the two extremes in the matter of amusement are the church which holds its suppers in a road house of questionable reputation and the church belonging to a denomination which permits no socials and frowns upon women who wear ribbons or feathers and upon men who wear neckties.

On the other hand, there was the socially minded minister who formed a boys' club following the rules of the Boy Scouts, which did a great deal of good and gave him a wholesome hold on the boys. This is the minister who wished to use the unoccupied church building for a community center but could get no support from his parishioners.



## THE RURAL SCHOOL.

The social as well as the educational center for the younger children is the district school. The school may indeed be considered the most important social influence after the family in the life of the child. We might almost put it before the family; for in the school the child is obliged to spend a larger proportion of his waking time than under any other one influence. Here he forms his associations with those of his own age group, whose opinions, customs, habits, and traditions have more weight with him than those of any other group can have.

Looking back on his own past life any adult must recall that in his young days it was the judgment of his contemporaries that was important to him—that was vivid and real. What older people thought or advised was largely *ex officio*. Their standard was something far off, incomprehensible, "queer," and uninteresting. It was their nature to be dull and to enforce dullness on the young folks; it was the natural impulse of the young people to escape the yoke and break down the prohibitions. For this reason the school should be made as effective as possible not merely educationally but socially, and a definite effort should be exerted to make it a social center. Here is society's point of contact with the child's little world that turns so self-sufficiently upon its own axis. The right touch just here may swing the child away from downfall into an orbit of wholesome progress.

What are the school conditions actually found in the communities studied?

First, as to organization. Each township is divided into school districts. These are again grouped into supervisory districts, each under the charge of a district supervisor who is elected by the school trustees of the districts under his charge for a five-year term, at salary of \$1,200 a year, and who gives his whole time to the work.

Generally the schools are housed in one-room buildings in the open country and two-room buildings in the villages. The one-room district schools have one trustee, a man or a woman; the village two-room schools have a school board of five members, to which women are eligible. The trustee of the board has the power of appointment of teachers in the district. In many neighborhoods the office of school trustee is considered one to be avoided, and is often filled with great difficulty. This leads to some bad misfits in an office which is of the most vital importance to the good of the school, to the children, and to the welfare of the community.

The district schools are all prepared to give the work of eight grades, but few of the one-room schools have eighth-grade scholars. Several village schools give high-school work, but the tendency is

for the children to go to the high schools in the larger towns and for the village schools to become grammar schools only.

The curriculum of the rural school is not as closely related to life as it should be, either in subject matter or method. Courses in "nature study" and agriculture may be included, but as a matter of fact little instruction is given in either subject. In one instance the people of a district positively objected to the course in "nature study" which the teacher attempted to give because she took the children out into the woods and fields and they "wanted to know where the children were."

The school equipment and surroundings leave much to be desired. Often the schoolhouse is dilapidated, bare, and ugly. Sometimes it is positively dirty; sometimes inadequately heated; sometimes it is overcrowded, though this latter is not a usual fault. Again, the schoolhouse may be neat and trim and attractive in appearance with a bright coat of white paint, and with its flag flying, but there may be no play yard nor any opportunity for play. Few of the schools studied had any playground equipment or any provision for play within the building. The case histories show what mischief is possible and how much of it gets a good start at the unsupervised noon hour, when the teacher goes home to dinner and the children are left alone, with nothing to do, in the bare little schoolhouse. Here little gangs of mischief-makers are formed; here begins the passing from one child to the other of forbidden knowledge and practices. Here, too, the child often gets his start in pilfering, as we may infer from the number of cases described of children "light-fingered in school."

In the little school away from the village we find the staff consisting of one teacher. This is often a young, inexperienced girl from the community itself, whose educational acquirements are not great, whose ideals are bounded by the neighborhood, who is ill-paid, and who is often quite uninterested in her work. Her chief problem is apparently not the mental and social development of the children in her charge, but the task of maintaining bare outward order and discipline among heedless and mischievous youngsters and rough big boys, who "make their brags" that they can "run out" a weak or unpopular teacher.

Sometimes a man is in charge. But in the smaller school the salaries are so low that the male teacher can only be some young fellow who is using the position as a stepping-stone to more profitable employment, or some unfortunate being who is handicapped for other occupations, or some public-spirited individual who undertakes teaching in addition to another line of activity, as did the minister in one little neighborhood studied.

On the other hand, as in the case of the churches, instances were noted where the men and women teachers were doing their best to

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A movement is on foot to improve the little district schools by consolidation of districts, bringing the children together in a village union school. This means the possibility of grading and of expansion of the curriculum, of better salaries for teachers, and of more efficient teaching. This movement has not gone far in the districts studied; in some neighborhoods it is not approved. In one region some unfavorable reactions were noted upon the district schools which were not done away with in the process of consolidation. It was found that the well-to-do people in a small district would not usually send their children to their own school but to the nearest village school, sometimes paying a small tuition fee for the privilege. Since these well-to-do people are the town taxpayers they are naturally not interested in supporting a school in which they have no children. Another class of taxpayers who will never contribute to the district school are the absentee landlords—men who live in the villages but own numerous large farms scattered through the country. The burden of the support of these little schools comes then on the poorer class. The result is that funds become more insufficient and all the unfavorable conditions noted for the district school are exaggerated.

In some district schools, in townships where consolidation has gone far, the number of pupils has fallen off to the extent that only 5 or 6 will be found in a room designed for 25. The psychological effect upon these 5 or 6 educationally marooned little rural victims may be imagined, separated as they are from the more prosperous children of the community. Is it a wonder if they become a little bashful with their village-educated friends, if they shrink into their ragged, farmerish clothes a little when they meet the better dressed children coming home from the village school? Is it a wonder if their constantly narrow associations somewhat unfit them for a wider life? They naturally would not think of such a thing as going to the village high school if they can not go even to the village grade school; and, in fact, their district-school training would ill fit them to carry on the high-school work.

This means, not that consolidation should be checked but that it should be hurried on until there are no more such stagnant pools of educational backwater.

#### TRUANCY.

To a great extent not only do the children drop out of the village school at an early age, but while they are in school attendance is irregular. The children who attend irregularly are not in general "truants," according to the definition of the New York State law—that is, children absent without the knowledge and consent of their parents. They are guilty of "illegal" absence, or rather



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Sometimes the situation is met by having the boy who is old enough to do so take out working papers in order that he may help on the farm in the busy season. Such boys often come back during the winter months and are in many cases the "rough" element that creates so much trouble in the maintenance of discipline and sometimes actually disorganizes the school.

Other reasons for "illegal absence," which apply especially to the younger children, are the difficulty of transportation in the winter and the lack of proper clothing for the children to wear to school owing to the poverty of the family. This latter difficulty is supposed to be met by the poor master of the town, whose duty it is to provide the needed shoes or clothing, but in some of the cases cited he had apparently quite failed in this.

It is interesting to note that the work of the achievement club described in connection with efforts to promote greater interest and efficiency in agriculture is found to have a tendency to keep the children longer in school.

In one region the investigator came to the conclusion that "truant officers seem to be elected for their inefficiency." One truant officer hailed the arrival of the investigator as an opportunity to inquire if the truant officer is "supposed to attend to cases of truancy which result from farm work as well as cases of running away from school," and he was somewhat surprised and pained to be told that all cases of illegal absence were within his province.

In the village schools where janitors are employed this school janitor is usually the truant officer. He is often some broken-down, unemployable man past the prime of life. As truant officer this type of man is negligible. In one community the principal of the union school, which is regarded as the finest union school in the county, never utilizes the truant officer in cases of nonattendance, but either goes himself to visit the family or, in some cases, telephones. These janitor truant officers are also supposed to make the school census at the opening of the school year. Without this census the various teachers have no official list of the children who should be in school. In one village this so-called attendance officer failed to include in his census the names of 10 or 12 foreign children. In another this officer had made no census whatever as late as January 1, and the teachers were without any lists at all. In another the attendance officer refused to act on a notification from a justice of the peace that a certain boy had not been in school at all during the year. His grounds were that he must receive due notice from the teacher of the district. As a matter of fact, this officer had known of the boy's nonattendance from the very first.

In addition to these glaring defects in enforcing attendance, these officers frequently fail to act upon notice of nonattendance sent them by the teachers. In many cases of truancy found by the investigators the teachers state that they have sent proper notices to the attendance officer, but that often no action has been taken.

#### THE TAVERN.

The one active but disavowed rival to the church as a social center for old and young is the village tavern.

In some cases the village itself is "dry," but anyone in search of refreshment can easily find the way to a neighboring town or village where rules are not so strict. The tavern is the catchall for every sort of amusement proscribed by the church and the stricter people of the town. Here dances may be given, here there may be a pool room or bowling alley, and here sometimes may be found rooms to let for immoral purposes. Here all the gossip of the neighborhood is interchanged; and here, in the bar, pool room, or bowling alley, may be found—legally or illegally—numerous little boys who learn to drink, smoke, swear, steal, tell dirty stories, and amuse the adult crowd thereby.

After so many years of agitation the large part drink plays in all social problems hardly needs to be stressed. Perhaps, after all, it should be stressed, because with the discovery of other sources of evil has come a tendency to minimize the one about which we have heard so much. But certainly the present investigation shows anew and decidedly the great harm done by drink, not only through tavern training of the young but also in making parents and guardians cruel or idle or inefficient, as found in case after case, and creating those bad home conditions which are most favorable to the development of juvenile delinquency.

#### THE VILLAGE STORE.

No account of social centers in a country district would be complete without mention of the village store. It is the clubhouse for men and boys who do not quite like to go to the length of haunting the village tavern; or for all, in "dry" villages where no tavern exists. Here neighborhood matters are discussed, personal affairs, politics, the latest scandal. Here it may happen that "racy" stories are told and matters of sex held up to indecent comment and ridicule. The store is to a startling extent the place where social ideals are formed and where the minds of the young are impregnated with the principles which later will govern their work and play.

Here, too, a taste for gambling may be fostered. This is a form of recreation greatly under the ban of opinion in rural communities, but, as a matter of fact, quite frequently indulged in. It may

carried on in connection with games of various kinds—pool, r, and so on—entered into spontaneously. But worthy of special note are cases mentioned in the investigator's report of many gambling schemes, devised to play upon and encourage the gambling instinct, run in connection with the stores. Such devices are familiar in city neighborhoods where they are with greater or less severity suppressed by the police. They are no doubt introduced into country districts in the process of organization of trade around some large center which is so characteristic a feature of economic life to-day.

Beyond these main centers of social life there is little in the average rural district. Grange meetings, farmers' picnics, neighborhood parties occur, but they are few and far between.

The great complaint of the young people in the country neighborhood is "nothing to do." This gap they try to fill with excitement and with riotous mischief that may end in larceny and glory.

#### RELATION TO DELINQUENCY.

It is easy to see how the conditions described above may affect tendencies to juvenile delinquency and, in many cases, the connection may be directly traced. But in other cases it is not easy to see how the general neighborhood conditions can be blamed for delinquency. In one community a considerable group of the juvenile delinquents seem to have inherited their badness (whether physically or mentally through family tradition), for they all sprang from one set of tough families that had been brought into the region as laborers in construction work in former days. One village for no apparent reason had a special tendency to low gossip, and here we find a nest of child sex offenders. In another, apparently under the most favorable conditions where especial attention was paid to the social needs of the young people, was found a regular gang—male and female—of adolescent sex offenders, some of them belonging to the best families in the place. In this case the trouble seemed due to lack of parental control.

This does not mean that good community conditions are ineffectual and that we may be indifferent about securing them. It simply means that juvenile delinquency is a complex problem in which heredity, home conditions, and community conditions may all play a part.

#### TREATMENT OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY.

What means are used in these rural communities to treat the juvenile delinquency which has already occurred or to prevent its happening?



## STANDARDS OF LAW ENFORCEMENT.

It has already been mentioned, and may be seen in the cases cited that the rural community has laxer standards of legal regulation and enforcement than the urban community. Acts that create great annoyance and damage in the city are more tolerable in the country and even where considerable harm ensues neighbors of the culprit hesitate to make complaints that would cause unpleasant feeling and perhaps further damage to person or property. Among the case histories are to be found many instances in which nothing is done to the delinquent except perhaps to recommend a parental thrashing.

The situation is a delicate and difficult one. Private citizens cannot be forced to lodge complaints if they do not wish to do so. Neighbors are unwilling to complain of one another. The employers of the tenant farmers prefer not to bear testimony against the employees' children. No neighbor likes to say of another neighbor's daughter that she is going wrong, that she is out nights, or that she is about to bear an illegitimate child. A rural minister seldom cares to speak of the deacon's son as a petty thief or a sex pervert, even though he well knows him to be such. A Catholic priest will never betray the confidences or the secrets of his parishioners. Physicians are in honor bound not to speak of the troubles they find in the families which they visit. Town officers and supervisors do not care to run the risk of any loss of popularity as the result of making complaints. Country storekeepers usually prefer not to enter complaints against children who steal small things here and there. "It hurts business" is their lament. "Why, we'd lose a lot more of our loss of business with the family and all their friends than we ever get out of complaining against a kid."

## THE JUSTICE OF THE PEACE.

When the law is invoked against children in the rural districts of New York State, it is, except in two counties, through the local justice of the peace.

This official has jurisdiction over a small but perhaps widely scattered population, is elected by the group he serves, and need not have had—often has not had—any legal training or any other special qualification to fit him for the task of giving judgments and making decisions which affect human destinies.

It is not surprising, then, that the reports of investigators show grave deficiencies in the administration of justice at the hands of these men, though in many instances the justices were found to be well-intentioned, interested in their problem, and generous of time and effort in trying to solve it.

In proceeding against juvenile delinquents, the justices of the peace act only when complaints are made. These complaints come from the persons whom the children have annoyed, or from the agent of some children's society. In one region studied there are from two to four justices in each township. The justice is a county officer, but the law, by which he is paid for execution of warrants in his own township only, limits his jurisdiction. He is paid for warrants which he gets out for criminals anywhere in the county, but he can collect for the arrest and trial of persons in his own township only. Usually one justice is active, and he tries all the criminal cases. An officer of a children's society says that the justices are not versed in the law and do not know how to deal with cases. An agent for a placing-out society says that great difficulty arises in prosecuting cases because the justices and local authorities will not back up the children's society agent. This is due to political considerations; the justices do not wish to make expense for the taxpayers in their districts, therefore they do not care to prosecute cases. The inaction of the justices is amusingly illustrated in the following story told of a citizen of one of the communities studied. An old man stole his wheelbarrow and sold it for 40 cents. The citizen applied to one justice for a warrant, but he begged off on the ground of deafness; another "didn't want nothing to do with it." So the determined man drove over the hills to find the third justice in another town. He arrived late in the evening, only to find that the justice lived 2 miles farther on. In desperation he telephoned: "Is this Justice B——? Well, are you ready to do business?"

Another reason for inaction on the part of the justice is unwillingness to make enemies of neighbors by interfering with their children. Even when the parent is vicious and unfit to have the care of the children there is reluctance to interfere. Sometimes the failure to act is due to the justice's unfamiliarity with laws and procedure.

One justice, a lawyer (which is uncommon), and also mentioned as the most intelligent and thoughtful of any of the county justices of the peace seen by the investigator, was found unfamiliar with the newer thought and practice in handling juvenile delinquents. His only knowledge of institutions was the county jail and house of refuge. Of the latter he had a high opinion for its reformatory influence, but he had never heard of Bedford or Industry. His general theory of treatment is that it is a very bad thing for a boy or girl to be brought into court. The judge holds court in his office, and, after appearing two or three times, the child, who finds that it is just like any other place, loses his fear and inclines to do as he pleases. He thinks that with really bad boys the fear of being sent to jail or a good stiff talking to does the most good. He some-

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he realizes the defects in this system and urges the necessity of training officers to look after all their cases—children and adults. When placed on probation, the children are sent to reform schools, Industry for the boys, Hudson for the girls. Appeal from decisions of the justices may be made to the county court. Cases of feeble-minded children always come before the county or supreme court, and two physicians must swear to the defectiveness before the child can be committed to the institution for the feeble-

The region studied the county court has immediate jurisdiction over juvenile cases. But even here instances are given of meddling justices. Certain village justices of the peace have been found hearing juvenile cases unofficially, hearing the cases as private citizens, making no court record, putting the child on unofficial probation to themselves, and in other ways avoiding the clause in the act of 1911 which requires that they shall give the offender over to the juvenile court.

It is in the commitments to institutions that the work of the local justices is especially to be criticized. The community studies and the study of cases after commitment at Industry show that the principle of commitment to an institution for delinquents is not so simple as the nature and degree of delinquency in the child and the ability of the institution to improve his character as the amount of labor and expense to the neighborhood or the family to be saved by sending the child.

The cases studied at Industry showed a considerable proportion in which commitment was the result of pressure by local authorities upon the State for the support of boys who were not really delinquent but who were destitute. They should never have been sent to Industry, but should have been placed or boarded out or otherwise maintained at the expense of the town.

Such methods of commitment mean that in one institution will be found thrown together the normal child whose only fault is having no home, but is committed as a "vagrant"; the troublesome but not abnormal mischief-maker; the actually perverted and degenerate, who steals, burns barns, and is guilty of sex perversion, and passes on the lessons of evil at the first opportunity; and the feeble-minded. These evils are lessened by the method of segregation followed in modern institutions, but it is unfair to throw upon an institution the burden of such a heterogeneous mass to assort.

The responsibility for this state of things should not be entirely saddled upon the justices, however. In many instances they are powerless to do otherwise, because the community behind them will

not help in shouldering its own burden—will not undertake the responsibility for the oversight and support of the destitute and neglected child.

#### THE COUNTY JUVENILE COURT.

The county court having jurisdiction over children in one of the regions studied was in a large city, and though it has jurisdiction over the entire county, it works as a matter of fact, mainly with cases from the city. This is not because the judge is not desirous of taking all rural cases also, but because no officers are attached to his court whose business it is to bring before this court all cases of rural juvenile delinquency of which complaint may be made. The law which established this court gave it jurisdiction over all children under the age of 18 and made it obligatory upon the justices of the peace of each town to hand over to this court all children who are brought before them. This law is not in high favor with the town justices of the peace, nor with parents or complainants scattered through the rural sections, for the reason that the prosecution of a delinquent child now means that complainant, child, witnesses, and constable must all make the journey to the city for the first hearing, and perhaps also for adjourned hearings, and that much loss of time and money will result therefrom. Several cases came to the investigator's notice in which the complainant refused to act when he discovered how great would be his own personal inconvenience. The situation is aggravated in the eyes of the ordinary citizen by the fact that the depredations of the youthful offender are usually of slight importance. It is difficult for the complainant to understand why an adult horse thief may be tried without expense by a local justice of the peace when a boy who has "punched" a box of cigarettes must be taken to the city, 10 or 15 miles distant, with retinue of attendants.

The result of this situation is that the county juvenile court is not covering the entire territory over which it has jurisdiction. Cases of rural juvenile delinquency are constantly escaping the hand of the law which, had they occurred within the city, would have received the immediate attention of the court.

#### THE JAIL AS A PLACE OF DETENTION.

After a child is committed to an institution by a justice, and before he is sent there, he may be held in a jail. In one region studied, between the time of sentence and of transfer to an institution, children are kept in the county jail. The jail record shows that they stay there two, three, four, or five days, and one boy stayed

eight days. The jail has a juvenile department—a long room with a space shut off by iron bars where the beds are slung behind more bars, each bed in a small compartment. A stench prevailed and the beds were dirty. The children are, however, allowed considerable freedom in the jail. One little lad, committed for stealing a bicycle, evidently had a pleasant time there. This was the boy who was held eight days, while he was being examined for contagious disease. He is the one described in the community studies who became so popular and was treated so well that he said he did not wish to return home or go to Industry, but would rather have stayed in the jail.

But whether pleasant or unpleasant, as stated in the Missouri Children's Code Commission of 1916, "A jail is no place for a child; it breeds criminals."

#### DEFECTS OF TREATMENT.

What is the effectiveness of institutional care of juvenile delinquents? That question this report can not attempt to answer, because the institutional study was not sufficiently extended to do so. It can only point out that, as indicated in the criticism of the justices for unintelligent commitments, the institution group throws together good and bad, wise and foolish, who may do one another more harm than the wisest training can undo. And an institution record appears to be a distinct handicap to a child when he returns to his own village. It seems to be plain that, so far as commitment to an institution can be replaced by intelligent supervision in normal family surroundings, it should be.

The weakness of probation as carried on by the local justice of the peace has been pointed out in the descriptions of the different justices and their activities. It seems, too, that the parole officers who have oversight of children after their release from institutions lack training and have too many cases to make good work possible.

Another means of dealing with juvenile delinquency is provided for by a clause in the law which makes it possible to prosecute the parents of a delinquent child on the charge of "adult contributory delinquency." The investigator's reports show no instances of invoking this clause, though in a number of the cases this would have seemed the most appropriate action, notably in a group of the Industry cases.

#### COÖPERATION OF PRIVATE AGENCIES.

Various private agencies cooperate with the public agencies in the treatment of juvenile delinquency. The State charities aid association and the society for prevention of cruelty to children are

primarily concerned with dependent and neglected child they often become involved in delinquency cases through first a supposed case of dependence turns out to be delinquency through the necessity of dealing with other members of the family than the delinquent. The investigators mention their own connection with many of the cases investigated, usually to the disadvantage of the child.

In one region studied a humane society, established about twenty years ago by citizens of the one large town in the county and first of the allied charities, cooperates with the State charities in caring for dependent and neglected children. The humane agent is doing excellent work. He prosecutes his cases and is very often called in in connection with cases of delinquency.

## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR TREATMENT.

### JUVENILE COUNTY COURT.

The first recommendation to be made for the treatment of delinquents is to take cases of juvenile delinquency entirely out of the hands of local justices and put them in charge of the county court. The juvenile county court, as at present organized, has its own serious defects. These, however, are not to be remedied by abolishing the court and throwing the children back on the local justices, but by extending the field and functions and the operations of the court.

The difficulty of inconvenience of access to the court for the rural districts might be met by dividing the court, assigning one judge to rural work and sending it on circuit. Or it might be met by the appointment of one or more competent referees, who could hear cases in different parts of the county subject to review by the judge in cases where an appeal is made from the referee. The details of the method, the essentials are to secure jurisdiction on juvenile delinquency cases in all parts of the county by a competent, experienced authority who is not subject to local influences and to secure an effective unified probation system for the whole county and to avoid unnecessary expense of the time and money of the guardians, and witnesses. Surely the county is a sufficient unit to permit some practicable plan of administration to be made to make the juvenile court accessible to all parts of it without expense.

Under this court the law should make available a probation officer in every inhabited section of rural as well as urban counties. This officer should preferably be a person publicly paid,

this is as yet impracticable the best obtainable person should be officially authorized to begin the work upon a volunteer or privately paid basis pending the establishment of a paid position.

Once an efficient system of court hearings on rural delinquency cases is started in a county, and the probation officer is actively at work day after day in all parts of the county, complaints about offenses that now are not complained of at all would naturally be made to him. Inquiry thus set on foot would lead to judicial action wherever necessary. It is important that the supervision of girls and women be wholly exercised by women, and that where the only regular probation officer is a man the services of women volunteers be secured to aid him in the supervision of such cases.

In connection with the juvenile court there should, furthermore, be provided some other place of detention for children than the jail, the calaboose, or the police station. This does not necessarily mean a new house of detention. It is often possible to make satisfactory arrangements for temporary detention of juveniles either in some existing institution for children, or in some specially selected family home.

The juvenile court and county probation system should be so strengthened as to reduce the necessity for commitment of children to institutions to a minimum.

Cases presented by the investigators seem to indicate the desirability of raising the age limit of juvenile delinquency from 16 to 18. Many instances show a really childish type of mind and character in boys and girls over the age of 16 that could better be handled by the methods of the juvenile court than by the methods used for adults.

This appears to be particularly desirable for rural children, since they do not mature as early as city children, for whom the exciting experiences of daily contact with crowds of other human beings afford a stimulus to precocious development which the country child knows nothing about.

#### ABOLITION OF FUNCTION OF JUSTICE OF THE PEACE.

Notwithstanding the antiquity of the office and the firm footing it has among our fundamental institutions, familiarity with conditions as described here leads to the conclusion that to abolish the function of the local justice in relation to delinquency at all ages would help to solve the child problem. The same circumstances which render the local justice ineffective in dealing with children make him ineffective in dealing with adults. This fact in turn reacts disastrously upon the family of the adult offender and may lead to actual juvenile delinquency. Even in cases of juvenile delin-



quency where jurisdiction is vested in a county court the local justice has jurisdiction over adults connected with the case leads to much trouble and loss of time in going from one to the other, and to cross-purposes in giving judgment.

Take, for example, the case of the young girl who has been violated or seduced by a young man in a farm household. The girl was taken by the juvenile court and sent to a series of homes as a servant. The probation officer reports that she is now doing very well. The young man in question was taken by the local justice of the peace, who had the man being "as slippery as an eel," was locked up in the jail for several hours and then discharged. He celebrated his escape from the clutches of the law by getting drunk at the village hotel. He boasted that it cost him \$88 to get out of the scrape. Why did the juvenile court not give jurisdiction over all phases of such a case as this one? It is certainly desirable that legislation should authorize the same court which has exclusive jurisdiction over juvenile cases also to have jurisdiction in all cases of adults directly affecting the welfare of juveniles.

#### PROSECUTION OF ADULTS.

Whether any changes are made in the jurisdiction, it is not, a stricter and more consistent prosecution of adults and cruelty and "adult contributory delinquency" should be taken. In particular, parents should not be permitted to neglect their parental responsibilities for support and discipline up to the time when even if it appears to be at the time the easiest way to handle the situation. Why should not a probation officer expect to put thought and effort in supervising the child's natural home or foster home? A foster home is generally considered a better place for a child than an institution. Surely his own home is a foster home, if there remains enough parental interest and responsibility to be nursed into strength and effective action by a socially minded probation officer. It seems desirable, therefore, that a probation officer for adults should be made available in every county possible for all the courts that have jurisdiction in cases of support, desertion, neglect, divorce, bastardy, all domestic misdemeanors, and minor felony cases.

In counties where the population and the amount of business needed makes it practicable to have one probation officer for juveniles and another for adults this is preferable, but it is essential for a competent officer to supervise both juveniles and adults.

It is essential for the real success of a probation officer in dealing with juveniles or adults that he possess the power and habi-

each person not as a detached individual but as a complete human being having a body, mind, and spirit, and placed in the setting of his own special family and neighborhood, with their economic and social relations. In short no probation officer can really succeed without being a good "case worker."

In some rural communities the probation officer may well be clothed with other authority, such as that of attendance officer, nurse, parole officer, poor-relief officer, and S. P. C. C. and child-labor enforcement officer. Such a combination of duties may, in many a county, justify expenditure for the whole time of a well-qualified person, when for each separate form of service no adequately prepared person could be afforded.

In those counties where the work of the probation officer is confined to probation the successful officer in rural, as well as in urban, communities must be in close touch with schools, poor relief, recreation, churches, women's clubs, institutions, industry, granges, local governmental officials, and all other social agencies that touch the life of his probationers in either remedial or preventive ways.

#### ADVISORY BOARD OF CITIZENS.

In every county there should be either a legal or an extra legal advisory board of citizens to cooperate with the judges and probation officers in securing progressive efficiency in the social work for children and adults in the county.

In States like Missouri, Minnesota, and Alabama and in Dutchess County, N. Y., where county boards of child welfare are contemplated under legislative enactment, such boards might suffice.

In counties where the law provides for no such boards it is wholly within the power of the interested judges to create such an advisory group by personal request and appointment.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PREVENTION.

The community surveys show the most striking needs of the normal child in rural districts to be mental and moral training, recreation, and vocational opportunity; and of the subnormal child, some adequate means of diagnosis and appropriate treatment.

They also indicate what the existing social agencies are doing to meet these needs. What can be recommended to meet them more effectively?

#### THE SCHOOL.

First, the school; what more can it do? It is evident that the process of consolidating the little district schools should go on more completely and rapidly, in order to bring to the service of small and

poor communities the resources in skill, intelligence, and wealth of the larger unit.

The consolidated school can afford to pay better salaries to teachers, can secure better service, and a larger staff which will permit of specialization. The teachers will not have to live in the little, lonesome hill neighborhoods and be homesick and discontented; the group of school children will be sufficiently large and varied to afford a mutual stimulus.

The curriculum should be vitalized in the schoolroom as well as in the printed course of study. Attention to industrial and prevocational training seems especially desirable. In a case of delinquency, where the boy spent his spare time making countless chicken coops, bird houses, and dog kennels, of no use to him or to anybody else, just for "something to do," manual training would have been a godsend.

Can the school undertake direct moral training? It seems doubtful if this can be done in any formal or institutionalized way that is unrelated to the personal and social experiences of the child. But within the field of experience there is promise of effective correlation of the facts of experience—personal, family, play, work, social—with moral principles. Correlation of all such experience with the principles of language and number has long ago been proved practicable and educationally sound.

The inculcation of sex morality is badly needed, but it is doubtful whether the attempt to do this through the teaching of sex hygiene in the rural schools would be altogether successful. At any rate, the rural teachers do not seem ready to undertake the task. Some of those met during the investigation thought that more harm than good would come of such teaching; and apparently they are not, as a body, fitted to give it.

Perhaps it is emphasizing the obvious to suggest that the school should take a particular interest in providing a good library, with supervision of reading, not merely in connection with school tasks, but for general culture and to broaden the horizon of the country child. In many of the cases studied the boy or girl "liked to read," but the books read made up some oddly assorted titles. For such children the school library would be an invaluable means of awakening interest and stimulating ambition.

Recreation should be regarded as an integral part of the school work. Consolidation of schools and the consequent increase of the school staff would make it possible to detail one member to the organization and supervision of play of different kinds, as we have seen done here and there, in an unorganized way and under handicaps, by socially minded teachers.

The idea of the school as a community center, which has already gained headway in larger communities, should be extended to the rural districts. The school building should be available for grange meetings, Boy Scout meetings, clubs, sociables, concerts, lectures, citizens' meetings, or any other wholesome activity that brings the people together.

Another thing the rural school can do, which is already being done in cities. We have noted how much of the trouble with children has come from unfortunate home conditions. There is needed some one who can, like the probation officer, enter into personal relations with the family and work as friend with friend to help them adjust themselves to normal life. But the probation officer or the agent of a charitable society can be called in only when some delinquency has already occurred or where destitution already exists, and the rural family should be reached before such conditions have come about if true preventive work is to be done. The probation officer or the charity agent would seriously offend such families and wound their self-respect by meddling in their affairs. But the teacher, in whom is vested by law a responsibility for the care of every child, can without offense and in the direct line of accomplishing her task do just the kind of personal work with the family that is needed, provided she has the time to do it and the social spirit and training.

The consolidation of schools will help in securing time for this service. The State department of education, by the appointment of a traveling staff of social workers or visiting teachers, as they are sometimes called, could provide training and supervision. Even in the little district school as it exists to-day we are shown teachers who are already doing real social work as best they can who would welcome such help with joy. And for the rank and file who are now doing their work in a mechanical way might not this instruction in the social possibilities of their task be the means of inspiring interest in a job that they find dull because they have failed to see the full scope and meaning of it?

#### THE CHURCH.

The country church has also an important social function to perform. Like the school, it must awaken to a full sense of its social responsibility. It has as direct an access to the people as the school, and in some communities is better organized to undertake social tasks.

The church should certainly share in meeting the recreational need and making itself a community center. It must bring to the test of reason and judgment any traditional ideas of the propriety and im-

propriety of amusement and certain forms of amusement; be ready to cast aside any that do not come up to that test and to encourage any that do.

Our surveys have shown what various socially minded ministers are doing in their respective villages. A recent number of a popular magazine<sup>1</sup> relates the success with which a progressive minister in a little town of 1,000 population, in the neighborhood of one of the regions studied here, introduced billiards and pool in proper surroundings and a moving picture show which he managed himself and made self-supporting.

And the church has as good reason as the school to provide a friendly visitor for families that are not delinquent or dependent, but do need instruction and advice.

#### THE VILLAGE.

The political unit—the village as a whole—should also be doing some true social work. One task peculiarly appropriate is the improvement of vocational opportunities. Towns and villages are already active along this line in the formation of boards of trade and other organizations intended to build up business in the town. For the farmers, greater use of cooperative methods of marketing and extension of rural credits will help.

The political unit is also responsible for its share in enacting and enforcing social legislation, and civic organization is needed to arouse community feeling along these lines. The evils of child labor, of truancy, of drink can be cured only when the communities themselves want them cured.

Village and town boards and officials charged with the duty of giving poor relief also have a direct responsibility in the matter of juvenile delinquency. Lack of judgment in caring for a dependent family may result in the delinquency of the neglected children. The official who carries on such work as this should not only realize his responsibilities, but have some adequate training in the principles underlying social work.

#### THE FAMILY.

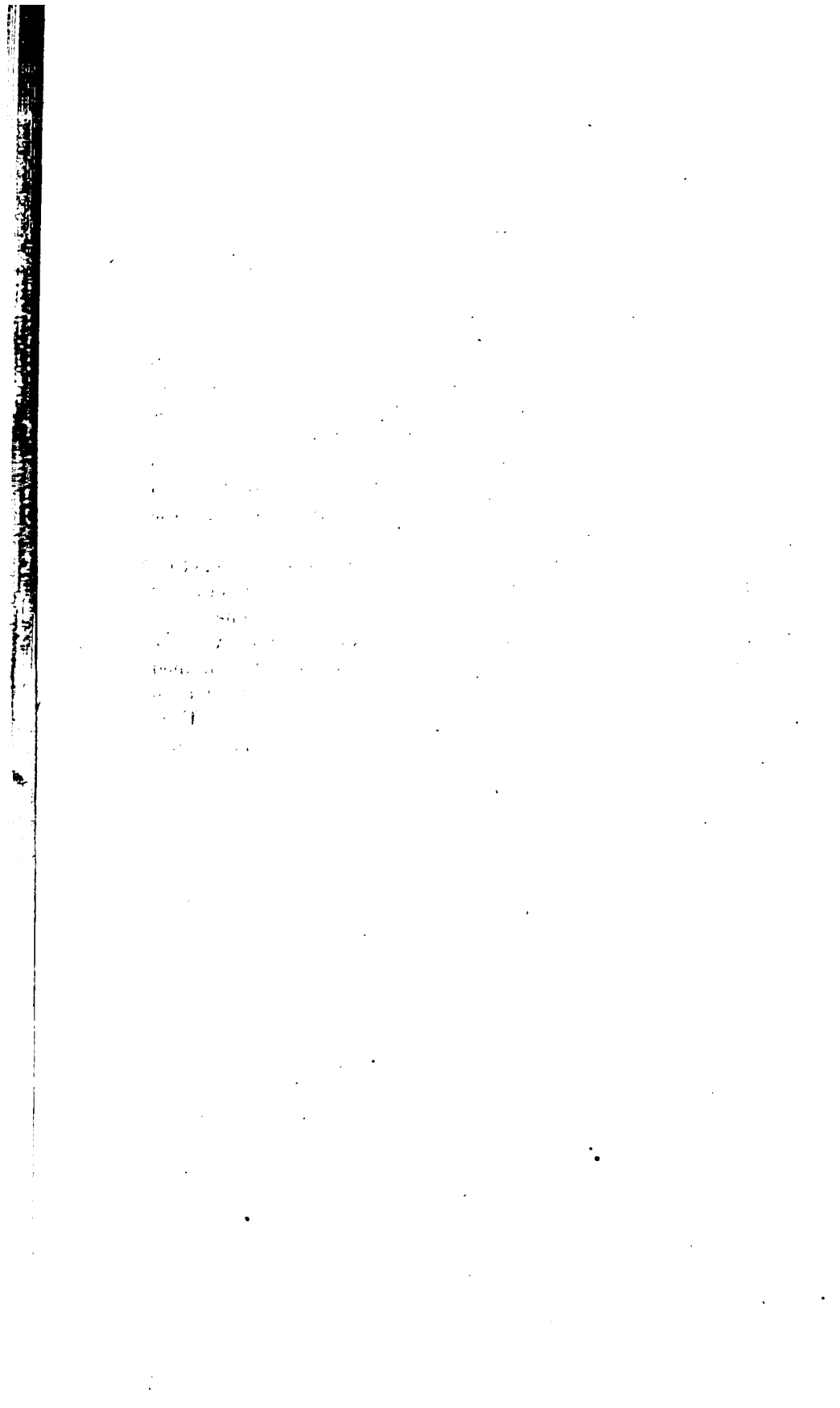
One of the most important of social agencies is the family, though we are apt to forget this, having in mind so often the family as a social problem, upon which some other agency must act. But in some communities we may see some enlightened family acting as a social center, providing recreation, education perhaps, a social stimulus, and the power of example. Such families are as truly social

<sup>1</sup> Everybody's Magazine, February, 1917, "The parson who believed in pictures." (Carlyle Ellis.)

workers as any school-teacher or minister or "agent" of any description.

And every family ought to be a social agency for its own children, for the normal family can provide better than any other agency for some fundamental needs, and an important task of social work is that of helping families back to their normal function. In the family that is fulfilling it the child has a background of mental training that makes the work of the teacher effective, and moral training in the family is given with the intimate knowledge of the child and his circumstances and with the affection for him that are needed to make those lessons take root. The normal home affords recreation, and it also affords training in various tasks and the assumption of responsibility for carrying them out that are of great value in fitting a child for his work in the world.

The family is, indeed, the fundamental social agency for the child. The community surveys made for this report, and other studies as well, show how close is the connection between the bad home and the bad child. Among the most important means taken to improve the child is the improvement of the home. However good the school, the church, or the community, if the home is bad a fertile source of juvenile delinquency is left open. Therefore our best efforts must be exerted to deal with the family as well as with the child.



## PART II.—COMMUNITY STUDIES.

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### COMMUNITY A.

The township of A, nestled among the hills, is completely rural in character. Only one level road leads out of A village, which lies in the center of the town. High winds blow on the hills, and the roads are drifted full of snow for several months in the winter, practically isolating the dwellers on the hill farms. The town board appropriates some money for keeping the roads clear, but even so, in the winter one must leave the road and drive through the rough fields to get anywhere out in the country.

These hills are sparsely settled; less than 1,000 persons altogether are found in an area of about 45 square miles. Farming is now the all-important industry, though a little lumbering is also done.

Unscientific farming is still too much the custom around A. The more intelligent farmers are applying the principles of combined dairy farming and crop raising; but the majority still live in ignorance of modern methods. The district is therefore poor. Hay, potatoes, and grain are raised, and in the autumn everyone is busy picking up potatoes. Some of the children stay out of school to earn a few quarters at this work. Two creameries are located in the village.

A, the only village, straggles on an open flat, from which the hills roll up on all sides. About 200 persons live in the 50 houses, which, with one or two stores and churches, a blacksmith shop, a hall, and the schoolhouse, form the social, religious, and trading units of the town.

At any time of day you can find a few of the idle old and the incompetent young gathered at the store. The counters on both sides are lined with loungers, most of them young men in the prime of life. The older men play checkers sometimes, but mostly they just sit, and smoke, and chew, and spit—and gossip.

There are two churches in the village, and practically everyone not only belongs to one church or the other but actually attends the service and Sunday school. This does not prevent certain crowds of older and younger men from going to a neighboring town and getting drunk, but the church members here hold themselves pretty straight, as a rule, and the churches undoubtedly are felt as a living influence.



In winter the farmers drive in in bobsleighs that accommodate the whole family. The back seats of the church are filled with the same young men who on week-day nights hang around the store, and who are considered rather bad characters. Both churches engage in social and philanthropic activities. One, at Christmas time, sends presents to the poor. The two churches sometimes join forces for social occasions, and a most jovial, friendly spirit prevails.

But the two churches have not always been so friendly. On one occasion one church held a revival in which it asked the other to join, thinking to unite the two congregations, and the revival was very successful, but unfortunately the harmony of the two denominations ended in a worse misunderstanding than ever. In one of the churches the minister is very active, and to him and to the Sunday-school superintendent of the district the church owes an increasing membership and prosperity. The Sunday-school superintendent, who is in charge of all the six Sunday schools in this district, has graded both the schools in A, established training classes for the teachers, and made other improvements.

Both the churches hold many lively entertainments, the most interesting events of the countryside. These are held in the hall or at private houses, and everyone comes for a good time. But the poverty in initiative and in the range of amusement illustrates the fact that people do not by instinct know how to play.

A social held in the hall during the investigation was typical. Supper tables stood along one side of the long hall. Benches lined the other side and one end. Supper was served at the other end from a raised platform. The older women prepared supper and washed the dishes. About 50 young people were present. Boys from 12 to 30 were here—schoolboys and the same young men who line the store counters every night, who do "nothing much," and who have no education beyond the district school. Sam and Daisy Walters, who "don't know nothing," were the only ones not dressed in "store clothes" and the only ones who were rather left out of the hilarity. The girls were fine-looking and well-behaved, the same girls who attended high school in a neighboring town, or who are preparing to be teachers, or are just staying at home. One young married couple joined in the fun.

A few older persons, present early in the evening, were a somewhat subduing influence, but after they left the social became a rowdy affair. The great amusement of the evening was a lively kissing game. Dancing was suggested, but at a church social it was strictly tabooed as a menace to the morals of the young people.

When the social broke up at 12.30 most of the boys and girls had to drive from 1 to 3 miles or walk a mile or so.

Private parties also are given. The more lively young people occasionally give a dance in the hall, but not often. They make it a custom, however, to drive off to any dance within a radius of 5 or 6 miles. The grange used to be very active and had 70 members, but now it has dwindled down until there were only 7 present at the last meeting.

The four justices of the peace in A have little to do. One of them tries most of the criminal cases. In the past five years he has tried only six. Another of the four had one case of assault and battery last year. In the past year they have had only one case of poor relief, and only one illegitimate child has been born in many years.

There are 11 schools in the sparsely populated township, and they are failing signally to meet the needs of the youngsters. The eagerness with which the children leave school as soon as there is a possibility of escape proves that both parents and children feel this. Even in the village school, where older boys have always been accustomed to attend, only two boys over 14—the age at which they can get work certificates—were found. The girls go out of town for more advanced schooling. In the other schools, with an enrollment of about 100, only 10—5 boys and 5 girls—were over 14. Nearly one-fifth of all children enrolled are retarded. Many of the children live a mile or so away from the schoolhouse, which makes it impossible for them to attend when the weather is bad. Seven teachers are young girls with little or no experience and little judgment, and they are always having trouble with the older boys.

Thus prepared, into what occupations do the girls and boys go? Out of a neighborhood group of 24 young men between the ages of 15 and 23, 6 were working on farms (2 on their fathers' farms; 4 by the month for \$8 to \$10), 6 were laborers (2 on the section gang of the railroad; 1 braking; and 1 on a bridge gang), 4 did "nothing much," 1 is a trapper, 2 work in the creamery, 1 is a telegraph operator, 1 clerks in the store, 1 runs a popcorn machine in a neighboring town, and 1 took a course in an agricultural college and runs his own farm, while another has been to a training class and teaches school. The girls do better than the men and appear decidedly superior in morals, education, and intelligence. Six girls from the village, besides several from the remoter districts of the town, are now attending high school in a near-by town. A number of the girls prepare themselves for teaching and teach for a few years. The others help at home until they marry. Some few drift to the factories in larger towns, and an occasional one goes out to do housework. The investigator heard one girl talking of her hope to become a trained nurse.

The village school has been difficult for any teacher to handle. One, a young man, tried to win the scholars by kindness. He went

swimming with the boys, taught them to dive, and play them; but they treated him so badly that he had to give up. Another young man of fine character finished out the term, but the Sunday-school superintendent that he was never where such low moral standards prevailed. Even the best write vile things in the closets. His successor was a good man, but he had such a sour face that the scholars hated him. He was led by the reprehensible "Doc"—the prize bad boy of the school—who used to badger him to such an extent that it is amazing how the people would allow it. Another teacher became so discouraged by the criticisms of the village people that he took little interest in teaching, and most of the older boys left.

The whole atmosphere of the school is one of laxity, and license. The pupils are rude to one another and to the teacher. The schoolhouse is gaunt, bare, hideous. There is no library, and the teacher takes a boy's paper to school for nothing to read. Formerly a club to interest the children in agriculture was maintained, but it died out.

In the town of A 15 children were studied—9 boys and 6 girls. Of these, 6 had come before the authorities in some way or other, 4 as truants, and 1 for incorrigibility that might have been brought before the justice of the peace. The 3 truants involving other bad conduct have been omitted from the study. Except in the 1 court case, nothing constructive, or tending to stop continued and growing delinquency, has been done.

*Case 1.*—Edward Lane, nicknamed "Doc Packer," a child of 13, a scion who attended at his birth, is an incorrigible child, who has a great deal of trouble, but has a cherubic cast of countenance. He is a sturdy, rugged little boy of 13, markedly undersized.

"Doc's" father was an expert driller in the oil field, but the field became exhausted and he returned to A, the home town. Here he is a day laborer. When working on the road near the railroad tracks, Mr. Lane and the "gang" used to get so roaringly drunk. "Doc," who often accompanied him, would give him his share of liquor. When the child would become drunk his father and the other men would regard it as a matter of course. The boy smokes a pipe.

The first half of the year "Doc" went to the village school. His attendance was fairly good, and he was bright, but he did not do much study. The justice of the peace foresaw trouble with "Doc," and the boy was badgering the school-teacher, and sent for him to the docket. Nothing, however, was done. The people of the village believe that "Doc" is good-hearted, not mean. The priest, however, says that he is a sneak, and is of the opinion that the small size saves him from the punishment he deserves.

*Cases 2 and 3.*—Malcolm and Robert Adams, aged 7 and 5, respectively, also live in the village, and are pretty bad children. A neighbor found them sticking a pitchfork into an ugly horse of his one day, stabbing at it through the stable partition. The children also stole tobacco from the same neighbor's barn. Malcolm is mischievous in school. The teacher had to take away from him an old pipe which he always carried around with him. He is not bright at all, and really looks stupid. His parents say he did not seem to learn anything at school. Robert has epileptic fits, during which he lies in a state of coma, sometimes for two days, without eating or drinking. He is cross-eyed, pale, and seems very dull. The teacher says he does not know anything and can not learn.

Their school attendance is fair, except that they are late a great deal. When late they make excuses—their breakfast was not ready or their shoes hurt them and they had to wait for their father to fix them. Sometimes they do not get to school before the afternoon session.

There are 4 more children in the family, and all 6 are lively and quarrelsome. It is said that all the little boys began to chew and smoke as soon as they left the cradle. The 3 little boys run around wild, and the smallest girl, aged 3, has a vicious temper and snarls at her father when he attempts to correct her. But there is little attempt at parental discipline. The children are, however, kept fairly clean and the house is clean, though disorderly. The parents are lively young people themselves, who made a hasty marriage shortly before the birth of the first child. They belong to the rougher class in the village, but have a good standing among this class. The father fires on the road engine, but has to be helped by his own father, for he is rather lazy.

Go to almost any of the 10 schools on the hills of A town and you will find in each district one or two families where the children need attention of some kind.

The C school lies about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the village in the midst of the fields, and houses can be seen only in the distance. There is a pretty wood back of the school where the boys play. You step directly from outdoors into the schoolroom, which is a barren, unkept room, and the floor is rough and dirty.

This has the reputation of being a rough school, and the teacher says it is the worst she ever had. But she will probably be able to do something with the children, for she has a fine, courteous attitude toward them and they seem to like her. The boys have shown some lack of decency, but she has talked to them about it and they are doing better. There are only two girls in the school. It is a backward school, though only one child is actually retarded. Two cases of truancy have occurred—one of a boy who was kept out to work,

though his father is the richest and most intelligent district; the other is of a girl, who is also incorrigible and follows.

*Case 4.*—Lucy Thompson is a big, strong, stocky girl who used to act very badly—like a little animal. When bile went by she would lie down on the ground, kick up and scream. She would fight violently with the boys, who would consider her natural enemies, and would use vulgar language. Though 8 years old Lucy does not seem more than 4 or 5, still in the first grade. Her school attendance has been very poor, excuse being that she had no shoes, but these were supplied. She accepts things with great eagerness, and came to school because she heard the teacher had some stockings and a ribbon. The teacher believes that she does not have enough to eat.

Lucy lives with the Thompsons, adopted parents, who are a poor, liar couple, living away up on a lonely hillside, a half mile from nearest neighbors, on a farm which they rent on half share.

The home is ill-kept and disorderly. Mrs. Thompson is in poor health; she coughs and has been threatened with consumption. Lucy Thompson is what the country people call "foolish."

Mr. and Mrs. Thompson and his wife are both very fond of Lucy and proud of her. The Thompson family has traveled around a good deal. Mr. Thompson always rented farms, except for three years when he worked in the coal mines, as he says, for his health, because he thought it would help him. This home is obviously no place for Lucy, who is not controlled at all, and is growing up in an atmosphere that encourages her incorrigible tendencies.

*Case 5.*—Aubrey White also attends this school. He is 12 years old. He and his brother Norton, aged 13, live with Mr. White, the most well-to-do woman of A. Their mother was a bad woman who left her husband and four children nine years ago.

An older sister, 15 years of age, and Norton seem to be normal, but Aubrey is queer. The sister would not keep her father because she could not get along with Aubrey. Mr. White has also found him quite a conundrum. When he was a boy he lied so that she could not believe a word he said. Mr. White feared for his morals on account of his mother's bad example. In school he has been quite incorrigible.

Aubrey is an odd looking boy, large for his age, but thin. He has a small narrow head, extraordinarily light, cold, and strangely white skin, and wide, gray eyes darkened by shadows and bright and expressionless like a bird's. He is very cold and sees everything with eyes that betray no feeling. In the home he behaves badly, but knows his lessons well. He insists

the class, and he has enough personality, though only 10, to get his own way.

It is in school that his real delinquency has come to light. He has a violent temper and is light-fingered. His bad temper has several times led to his drawing a knife and threatening his school-mates. Last year he threw a little girl down and was about to stab her when the teacher interfered.

Once he stole a jackknife from the teacher's desk, where a boy had left it for safekeeping. The teacher suspected Aubrey, for the previous year the Whites had a reputation for stealing, and after some diplomatic dealing with him the boy confessed and gave up the knife. On another occasion a boy missed 4 pennies out of 17 he had at school. Again the Whites were suspected and, though nothing was proved against them, they made restitution. The teacher asked the advice of the district superintendent in Aubrey's case, but he said that small boys often pilfered, but did not steal when they grew up. Aubrey is bright in school; he could do fifth grade work, and his attendance is perfect. He is ready in accusing others of dishonesty, which suggests his own latent tendency in that direction.

The boys say they like it at Mrs. Acton's. She is the district superintendent of Sunday schools and claims to have a motherly interest in the boys' welfare. But the teacher says she has never seen them in the front part of the house, which is the most comfortable in the village. A man lives with Mr. and Mrs. Acton and helps work the farm. He divorced his wife on account of Mr. Acton, hence this family combination is considered queer by the countryside.

Mr. White pays \$2 a week board for the boys. He is a carpenter contractor in a large town near by, earning good pay, and keeps up a house there with a housekeeper in charge. He comes out every two weeks to see the children, and says he could not stand it any longer without seeing them. He is a man of average intelligence, and Aubrey seemed fond of him. He gave the children nice presents at Christmas, and the sister says he is very good to them.

*Cases 6, 7, and 8.*—The Tomlinsons are a roving family who have made their way from a neighboring State to the lonely hills back from this village. The man and his wife went to work for a farmer, and being good workers they made a favorable impression, though their lack of furniture aroused some comment. But soon after they were settled the sheriff came to arrest Mr. Tomlinson for debts left behind. He settled them up, but this made the community look rather askance at the family.

The Tomlinsons brought seven children with them—three girls, aged 16, 8, and 4; three boys, aged 13, 11, and 7, and a baby. The whole

family were quarrelsome, and the children soon began to make trouble. The boys were all little thieves; but Roy, aged 11, was particularly obstreperous. He stole everything—burrs off machinery, tools, tobacco, and on one occasion scattered the contents of their employer's tool chest all over the barn. One afternoon Roy went to a neighbor's barn, got out one of the horses and rode it around, and was about to get out the other horse when the man who worked the farm caught him and gave him a beating. Not easily suppressed, Roy proceeded to rifle the coats which the threshers had left near the machine while they ate supper. He took several pocket-knives and some tobacco, and they never got the things back.

Byron, the oldest son, worked for a farmer, going home nights. He was suspected of taking things, was intercepted one night, and was found to be carrying home bags of beans that belonged to the farmer. The boy was frightened, and soon after returned to his brother in another State. Even little Robert stole a paper of tobacco. Mr. Tomlinson heard of a job of lumbering in another place and left his employer, refusing to pay him the \$8 or \$9 which he owed him for furniture.

The place to which the Tomlinsons now moved could scarcely be called a community. It is on the highest hill around, about 3 miles from A village.

There is one church, which is well attended; about 40 come to meeting and 35 to Sunday school. The church members give the pastor whatever they choose, amounting on the average to about \$280 a year. The young people support the church well, and the minister says the moral standard is high.

He also teaches the school, which has been running only this year. Last year the district contracted to send the children to a neighboring district, but a young girl taught there, and the children behaved so badly that the minister was begged to teach here, and he started a new school.

A leader in bad behavior during that winter at the other school was Roy Tomlinson. He fought with the boys, bullied the young teacher, and stayed away. In November the truant officer was sent after him and found that he was staying out to work. In December the trustee sent for the truant officer again. He had been to see Mrs. Tomlinson, but said he did not dare go again, for he was afraid that Mr. Tomlinson would kill him. The father's excuse for the boy's being out of school was that he had no clothes. The poor master then bought them \$7.20 worth of shoes and other articles. The schoolroom in this little place is barren and disorderly; the teaching, however, is thorough and interesting. The teacher keeps the children in order, but allows them considerable freedom of action.

Four of the Tomlinson children attend the school. Roy and Robert are notoriously light-fingered in school and both of them smoke and chew. In fact all the Tomlinson children are said to smoke and chew. The father buys tobacco by the pailful. Lilly, aged 11, is dull in her studies, though bright enough outside; she does not like school, but Elma, the little 6-year-old, is very bright in her studies.

Roy is considered bright, and the teacher says he behaves well so long as he has something that he likes to do; but he gets uneasy and is hard to manage as soon as he is not interested. He would rather work than go to school. The farmers are as willing to employ him as a man, but they overwork him and will pay him only boy's wages. Roy has a small-featured, low-browed face, with the keen brown eyes of a ferret.

Robert has none of his brother's volatility. He looks anemic and his eyes are dull. He sits dully in school and does not play even at recess. Robert has been caught pilfering at a neighbor's—a bag of chestnuts and an orange, which his mother returned.

The family were already getting a bad name in the neighborhood when, in February, Byron stole money from the railroad station. The amount was only 78 cents and the agent was not going to do anything about it; but one of the neighbors who found out the theft notified the railroad company, and the boy was taken before the justice, where he pleaded guilty. The justice talked to Byron in a fatherly way, telling him what a jail was like and that he would have to go there if he did not do better. He put the boy on probation for a year on condition that he should report in writing every month full details of his whereabouts and what he had been doing each day. He has been faithful to his parole and the justice thinks he shows great improvement. The neighbors, however, are not so well impressed. The minister says he never comes to church or Sunday school and does not observe the terms of his probation.

He has not gone to school since he came from the State in which they formerly lived, and there he went only a few months after he was 13. He did not learn as fast as the other children and disliked school, preferring to work; but he is fond of reading and reads such books as the Alger books. His parents did not seem to mind his leaving school. He has never done any regular work. After he was put on probation he went back to their old home and did farm work, getting \$12 a month on the first farm, then \$2 a day. Last summer he got \$1.50 a day picking up potatoes and doing other odd jobs. He now helps his father irregularly in the woods. In the spring he will have a job on the State road, at \$1.75 a day. He handles his own money, buys his own clothes, and helps at home. Now he has gone to stay with a neighbor's family to do chores.



When the investigator visited the family, Byron was at home and showed that he was ashamed of the theft. His mother did not talk of the trouble before him; but talked quite freely when he went out. She does not believe he took the money. He had been trying to get a rifle with soap orders, but became discouraged with "the bother." It was some of this money he had in his pockets when they searched him, she said. Most of the neighbors are of the opinion that Mrs. Tomlinson encourages the children to steal and that Mr. Tomlinson concurs simply for the reason that his wife bullies him.

Byron's arrest does not seem to have put a stop to the depredations. Roy has lately stolen from a private mail box a package which contained a pair of gloves. Mrs. Tomlinson declared that Roy had not taken them, but Mr. Tomlinson took them back early next morning. The family from whom the things were taken talked of doing something about it, but nothing has been done. Roy also went into the minister's house one Sunday while he was at meeting and stole some food, and Robert has taken a horse bridle from a neighbor's barn.

Altogether this family presents a lively problem with which the local authorities have proved themselves quite incapable of dealing.

*Cases 9 and 10.*—The Flagg family lives on a rented farm about halfway up a long hill, 2 miles from neighbors, 1 mile from the schoolhouse, and 3 miles from the post office. Mr. Flagg is always a renter and moves from farm to farm continually. He had a milk route last year, but fell into debt. They are very poor.

Mrs. Flagg is obviously defective mentally. The father is considered by the neighbors even more foolish than the mother, and there is a feeble-minded son.

There are also two daughters at home, Jennie, a very pretty girl of 15, who is in the eighth grade at school, and Minnie, aged 13, who is also bright and pretty. The house was fairly clean, and, though the furniture was cheap, there was sufficient for comfort. A small old piano stood in one corner.

Because of the personality of the teacher, the district school plays an important part in the lives of Jennie and Minnie. It is the only place where they have any decent companionship or come in contact with any ambitious people.

The schoolhouse stands neglected and alone on the top of the hill. The schoolroom presents a disorderly, comfortless appearance; ragged old maps hang on the walls; it is so poorly heated that even in moderately cold weather the children have to sit around the stove on boxes, chairs, and an old bench until noon. The condition of the school is not to be wondered at when the school trustee himself, the richest man around, lives in the direst shiftlessness and filth. Mrs. Flagg is his sister.

Despite these drawbacks the teacher has succeeded in creating an atmosphere of mutual courtesy and pleasurable work. She gives lessons in nature study every day, has taught the boys and girls to sing, and she has taken a special personal interest in Jennie and Minnie. On one occasion when Minnie was planning to go to a neighboring town to spend the night with her aunt, who bears a bad reputation, Mrs. Richards induced her to stop at her home. Her daughter made Minnie have such a good time that she stayed there overnight.

Jennie, the older girl, in the eighth grade, intended to leave school this year, but the teacher has induced her to stay. She comes to school quite regularly because she wants to keep up with her chum, Josie Daley. Josie belongs to the only family represented in the school which has any claims to cleanliness or intelligence. Jennie learns with difficulty, but works diligently. Minnie is very bright, neat, and quick in her work. Minnie has stayed out 26 days and the trustee had to be sent after her. Jennie is a good girl, easy to manage, placid, and stupid; Minnie has a great deal of energy, is "wayward," and headstrong. At first the teacher had trouble with her, but now the only difficulty is her truancy. She now wants to make something of herself, and hopes to train for teaching. Both girls have read a somewhat miscellaneous assortment, including *Life's Shop Windows*, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, fairy books from the school library, and *Little Women*. They take two illustrated weekly papers.

However, the real center of their lives is neither their home with their feeble-minded brothers and their stupid parents nor the school with its spark of inspiration, but their relations with the "Brown boys." These young men, aged 28 and 29, drink continually, are shiftless, and do not bear good reputations. They keep bachelor's hall in a little run-down house back in the woods. Jennie and Minnie spend much of their time in this place, often lingering into the evening, on the excuse of helping with housework. Minnie says that she does not go alone, but that her feeble-minded brother goes with her.

Mr. Flagg makes some weak objections, but does not interfere with the friendship. Their older sister, after a visit, wished to take one of them back to her home in another State, but neither would go for fear of being "homesick." The village looks askance at the girls, and the more respectable boys will no longer associate with them. They are too far from the village to go to church or Sunday school. No one in their home is capable of giving them protection or guidance. They have only the fragile help of the school and the present teacher; and they are losing their standing in the little community, which in all probability means their only chance in the future.

*Case 11.*—The case of Mary Varek in a near-by district is in many points similar to that of the Flaggs. Mary's parents are from Austria-Hungary. Her father came to America 21 years ago, worked 6 years, and then sent for his wife. They have several children in the old country. He worked on the railroad section gangs in two larger towns until a few years ago a clever, talkative real estate agent got him to buy this farm away out in the desolate hills. After six months he found himself in debt, and he and his son returned to town, earned enough to pay off the debts, bought a team of horses, and returned to farming. The farm is several miles from the nearest town, one-fourth of a mile from the nearest neighbors. There is neither life nor amusement for the young people.

Mary and her sister began to go to dances of a low tone, but to this the brother objected. Then the sister married and went away. Last year Mary stayed out of school a great deal. When the truant officer came after her it was found that instead of going to school, as her father supposed when she started out in the morning, she went to a neighboring farm to visit a man of 40 who lives there all by himself in a most peculiar patched-up little house on the top of a lonely hill. This man turned out his wife years ago. He earns about \$175 a year fiddling at dances. He does not bear a good reputation; he drinks, is dishonest, and has had several women with him since his wife left.

Mary's visits began when, left with only her younger brother for a companion and with a dislike for the country, she wandered around in search of amusement. She came upon one of the fiddler's daughters who used to stay with him at intervals. A friendship sprang up to fill a gap in Mary's loneliness, and this girl would tease her to "skip" school to go riding with her.

Mary continues to visit the hill, staying perhaps half a day at a time. The noninterference of her parents is easily explained. They are ignorant and childish, and speak such broken English that Mary has to translate any complicated conversation. She is a pretty girl, smart, and strong-headed, and seems older, certainly more sophisticated, than her parents. Mr. Varek sits and reads the almanac and laughs at the funny pictures. He regards the neighbor whom Mary visits as an old friend, and says, "He is a good man." Mary would like to learn bookkeeping, and her parents are eager for her to earn good wages. Money means a great deal to them.

In this case the school-teacher has offered a solution of the question as to what shall become of Mary. She has told her of an opportunity to study bookkeeping in the neighboring town. The teacher is just 18, and the school is absolutely dull and very slightly helpful in preparing the children for life; as Mary says, even the teacher is homesick up here. Mary left school with her working papers late

in November. She intended to "work out," but put off looking for a place day after day. Finally, she was persuaded to go back to school, and in about two weeks she took regents examinations in two subjects and passed both. She has decided that she likes school better than staying out. Her scholarship is good, but the teacher has occasional trouble with her.

Mary does not care for reading, but tats or sews in the evening. Sometimes she goes out and helps in the fields. She loves dancing. She deplors the lack of children in the school this year, only six being enrolled. She used to have fun playing with them.

When they first came to the farm she and her sister were friendly with a girl who came to the district to teach. This girl had known them in their former home, and had thought them nice girls and had looked forward to having them in the school. But they came to her house so much—staying all day even when she had company—that she had to tell them not to come so often. She also had other trouble with them. So a chance for good companionship was lost. Now Mary goes by the house without looking in.

*Case 12.*—Charlie Powell is another boy of the "smarty" type who is sometimes classed with "Doc." Two years ago, in April, Mr. and Mrs. Wilson moved from town to a lonely, isolated farm on the top of Jericho Hill, about 2 miles from the village. Charles Powell, a lively boy of 14, a son of Mrs. Wilson by a former marriage, came with them. He had always been hard to manage and disliked the country. For several weeks he stayed away from school, until the truant officer came after him. Then he went about every other day, and acted so badly when he did go that it would have been better if he had been allowed to remain at home.

The next term he attended school quite regularly. During the summer he had "made his brags" that he would "run" the teacher and the school. The teacher being a mild young girl, he proceeded to do so, and began rapidly to demoralize the whole school, for he is naturally a leader.

The first teacher this year struck him, upon which he threatened to attack her. The present teacher, a girl of 18, is anxious to keep Charlie in school. But she has had to suspend him several times already, and has almost decided that she can not keep him on account of the other children.

This school offers nothing in the way of study to interest a boy of Charlie's type. He learns quickly and easily, but hates school; in fact, Charlie is lazy. He is always on the move, but not in the direction of work. He goes to the neighbors nights, but he is most happy when he can hitch onto the buggy and go "gadding" on the roads. He goes to every party around and attends all the church functions; he never misses anything. He is likeable and popular,

especially with the girls, but the older people regard him as incorrigible.

All the school authorities have become aroused over his behavior. The trustee does not wish to cause trouble by sending him away to a reform school; the district superintendent suggests that he get his working papers and leave school. His parents would like him to go to high school, but they can not make him, so they are planning to let him go to town and learn a trade. They can not manage him at all. The stepfather is a funny, kindly man of weak character, and when he tries to make Charlie mind the boy stones him. The boy's own father died when he was 9 months old, and the mother worked very hard to keep her children together. She washed and ironed at night and went out nursing in the daytime. Thus she kept them well cared for. Her oldest daughter helped by working in the knitting mills, the others became telephone girls, and the older son went to work at 16. This left only the youngest to be spoiled. Mrs. Wilson is still a hard worker, keeping house and helping on the farm. She thinks Charlie is wonderful. She is intelligent and has some "go," but he is beyond her control. A pretty, attractive woman, she seems a bit spoiled herself. She says Charlie is spoiled, because the older children always objected when she tried to whip him.

### COMMUNITY B.

B is a rural township of about 3,000 population, scattered about in small villages and upon farms. The largest village numbers between 700 and 800 persons, and has a comparatively clean record for delinquency. In this village was found only one girl offender under the age of 18, and her family have only recently moved to town. No serious boy offenders were found. There is, of course, a gang of lively boys here who are often in mischief. For example, at a church supper they started "skylarking" in the vestibule, and accidentally, so they say, knocked down and ruined some hats which were hanging on the wall. This same crowd have been known to make off with wedding ice cream from the backdoor steps and to steal grapes from the "meanest man in town."

Outside the village, however, is one of those degenerate rural sections often to be found away from the main tracks of travel. The railroad runs through the village; the rest of the town has no trolley or railroad, but is unfortunately situated along an automobile road, once the old stage turnpike, which runs along a crest of land of very inferior quality. None of the best farms are situated on this old turnpike, because the land is so poor, but there are many small villages in groups of half-dilapidated houses and old taverns, now become road houses, with a bad reputation. Notwithstanding the fact

that the town has been "no license" for over 20 years, there is much drunkenness. There is not a shiftless farmer on any one of these run-down farms who has not a good supply of cider, and will not sell it quietly. Moreover, it is a trip of only 3 or 4 miles to the saloons in the adjacent towns.

There are two rural churches outside the village. The more prosperous people in the neighborhood go to the village churches, however, and these two rural churches have only 30 or 40 members, no funds, and tumble-down buildings. One of them belongs to an obscure denomination, which makes a moral issue even of pleasures which are usually thought to be harmless. It permits no church socials; it frowns upon women who wear ribbons or feathers and upon men who wear neckties.

The other church possesses a young minister of training and character, who is making every effort to better conditions, but he works single handed, and what he may accomplish alone and unaided by his apathetic parish will probably be very little.

A further matter of interest in B is the large number of placed-out children to be found here, sent by an orphan asylum in the neighboring city. These children are frequently diseased, their past history has often been such as to familiarize them with immorality and crime, and it would not be surprising if they were found to have a bad influence upon the country children with whom they come in contact. But this supposition has not been confirmed by the facts since there was no increase of delinquency in these districts. There were in B two district schools, not more than a mile apart, each of which had, out of about 25 pupils, 7 or 8 of these children. It is easy to pick them out in school by their poor clothes, their almost cringing manner, and their retardation.

It has become the fashion in certain districts to "take a boy from the city." Boys seem to be preferred to girls, because more work can be got out of them. They not only can do farm work, but they are valuable household scrubs. Frequently they are taken for housework alone. One boy whom the investigator came across has to rise at 5 and build the fires, help with the "barn chores," wash the breakfast dishes, sweep and dust three rooms, and always arrives at school nearly a half hour late. This same boy bore a red welt diagonally across his cheek and chin, where he had been struck with a whip.

*Case 1.*—Lucy Warren, the only girl delinquent found in B, is a fragile little girl of 16. She gives her age as 18, but she looks no more than 14. She seems normally bright, but there is no school record, for she has never gone to school in this village. Her father is a man of very low reputation, a tenant farmer. He has taken into his home as boarders three men who are employed on the farm where

he himself works. Worse still for Lucy is a stepmother, in whose company she remains constantly. This woman's bad character is well known, and she is said to have taken the child with her on night expeditions.

The concern felt in the neighborhood for a frail girl unprotected from such influences became so keen that a complaint was made to a society for the care of children. An agent made an investigation, but refused to take any action because he could not prove any actual misbehavior on Lucy's part. The neighbors interested in her felt that evidence existed which might have been obtained, and that, in any case, the society which left the child in danger did perfunctory work.

Warren came to town about four years ago and has worked on four different farms. His present earnings consist of \$375 in cash for the year, the rent of a small house, 20 bushels of potatoes, 1 quart of milk a day, a 150-pound hog, necessary small garden vegetables, and a cord of small firewood. His employer reports that he is a good worker, and that he does not go on a spree more than once in two weeks. This employer happens to be the local justice of the peace, and he seems to have thrown his influence against any legal prosecution.

The stepmother's history is not known. She is so lazy that Lucy has to get up early and get breakfast for her father and the three boarders.

In the smaller villages and on the isolated farms the following cases were discovered.

*Cases 2, 3, and 4.*—Ada Bartow, at the age of 14, was sent to one of the State reformatories for girls on a charge of immoral conduct. About a year before the investigation, when Ada had served three years in the reformatory, she returned to B. Here she was joined by her older sister. They produced so undesirable a situation that a children's society removed the two younger girls from the household.

The Bartow family is one of the older families of the town, and is, as a whole, composed of self-respecting individuals. Ada's father has two brothers who are of fine reputation. He himself was apparently decent as a young man. He married well and had five children—a girl, now aged 20, to whom reference has been made: David, now 17; Ada; Mabel, who is 15; and Sarah, aged 12. About 10 years ago Bartow became a heavy drinker; he ceased to give adequate support to his family, and one day, when intoxicated, he threatened the life of his wife. A few days later she committed suicide by taking poison. After Mrs. Bartow's death the family went from bad to worse. Bartow kept a woman of questionable reputation in the home, and there was said to be no attempt whatever at

privacy or decency. The children were constant witnesses of gross drunken debauches. The result was that the girls became immoral, and that the boy, David, is now all that a 17-year-old boy should not be—vulgar, profane, thieving, and a drunkard.

At the time the children's society removed the two younger girls, Bartow was given the choice of prosecution or sending away the woman who had been living with him, and also sending away his older daughters. The girls have gone to a near-by city and are waitresses in a restaurant. Bartow, though he still owns the little house in B, has gone with the boy to work in a factory town.

*Cases 5 and 6.*—Anton Meyer, aged 17, is a drunkard, and is charged with immoral and vulgar conduct; he is also very violent and profane. On one occasion, when drunk, he knocked down with his heavy fist a stranger who inquired the way from him. Recently he was discharged from a position in an establishment where many women and girls were employed, because of his indecent remarks and improper advances.

Anton has supported himself ever since he was 14. He is now a grown man, large and strong. Though his attendance was very irregular in the village school, he finished the eighth grade at 14. His father then equipped him with a team of horses and a wagon, and put him to work on the canal and highway construction. There he associated with older men, many of whom were rough characters. He was under no restraint, living at home very little, and growing accustomed to spending all his wages on his own pleasures. His quarrelsome disposition became more pronounced; he was constantly in trouble with the overseers of the construction work and ultimately discharged. His father sold the horses, and Anton went to work in a factory in a large town. The influence of the large town has made the boy into a "cheap sport." He dresses fashionably and never contributes to the family budget, though with the father's declining health there is need of help. Anton is now out of work and is living at home.

Anton's younger brother, Otto, aged 11, is frequently sent home from school and otherwise punished for his bad behavior. Otto is a cigarette smoker, and seems to show a temperament even more vicious than Anton's. Perhaps the boys inherited some nervous weakness from the father, who is a peculiarly violent man, subject to unreasonable fits of temper. Otherwise he is a decent sort of parent, with no bad habits, though very ignorant; he has no ideas at all as to the proper bringing up of unruly children. The mother is an ignorant though well-disposed woman, who has no influence whatever upon the children.

*Cases 7, 8, and 9.*—The Edwards family, to which Florence belongs, has lived in B less than two years. When Florence was 16



she gave birth to a child, which became blind and dumb. A boy of 18, named Whipple, claimed to be the father and wished to marry the girl. Another young man, Pendleton, also wished to marry her, and became insane. For months, the neighbors believed, as a result of her refusal, of a family with a history of illegitimacy and insanity. The people, however, maintain that a middle-aged man in the neighborhood where the girl formerly worked in the cotton mills, is the father of this child. Mr. and Mrs. Edwards were cotton-mill workers. The family came to B. The father left the mill town in 1890, 10 years without paying his bills, which were considerable. The boy never went to school in B, and the general opinion is that he is very bright, though "as pretty a girl as you might want."

Whipple has disappeared from B. Probably he is in the neighborhood of Florence, though his parents do not know whether he is there or nor where he is. The young man would have married the girl if his father had given consent. His father is a drunkard and a vagabond. "He is a nobody." There are 14 Whipple children, largely sons and daughters, mother and older girls, who work out. They live in a small house of only three rooms.

The other young man, Pendleton, is the illegitimate son of a woman who has had several other illegitimate children, and was the illegitimate daughter of an old man, now insane.

*Case 10.*—Albert Ferris, at the age of 15, two years ago, was sent from B, because a warrant was sworn out against him for attempting to assault a little girl. The child was rescued before harm was done; but the father, roused, tried to kill the boy and was arrested. Before the warrant could be served he had run away and has not been heard from since.

Albert has a generally bad reputation. At the age of 12 he was sent into a neighbor's house and stole the children's basket, containing about \$1 in change. Other neighbors saw him enter the entrance through a window. A warrant was sworn out against him since the constable at that time happened to be a cousin of his mother, that warrant also was never served. Albert is a bad word and deed, very destructive of property, and is very fond of using foul language. He is not considered very bright and is in the fourth grade at the age of 15.

The immediate family environment and the boy's character are the worst. His mother was the illegitimate daughter of an old woman called Mrs. French. The identity of his father is not known. His mother has been married, however, to a man named Ferris, who deserted her and lost himself in the West. When Albert ran away old Mrs. French died, and then he went to live with a man named Morton Root. This

known for its immorality from the grandmother down. The Root children are all still very young, but in a fair way to become delinquent within the course of a few years.

*Case 11.*—Bessie Strang was not yet 16 when she bore an illegitimate child. The case was taken to the county juvenile court by the overseer of the poor, who attempted to aid Bessie's father in fastening the paternity upon a young man named Wilson. This young man has a bad reputation. A prosperous and influential family seems to have protected him previously in similar trouble. The juvenile court dismissed this case from lack of evidence. Because Bessie became 16 at this time, the court did not continue any supervision. Within a few months Bessie married a man from another town, where she has now gone with her child to live.

Bessie is not considered very bright. She is pretty in a vulgar way, and is not a vicious girl in any essential manner. She never went to school in B, because her father has only recently moved there. Her mother died when she was a baby, and she never had any proper bringing-up. The father is an ignorant tenant farmer, who has been in town only a little over two years, and has worked on different farms. He is industrious and has no bad habits, but is considered stupid. Her older sister, who keeps house for the father, is a quiet, well-behaved girl.

*Case 12.*—When James Freeman was 12 he made off with a horse and buggy which he found tied beside the roadway. This in all probability was the act of a feeble-minded child. In the same irresponsible manner he took two watches from a store counter. For these acts he was sent to Industry, where he remained for several years and was then paroled. He had been at home about a year when an aunt of his by marriage—a widow—was arrested and taken before the juvenile court on the charge of immorality and improper guardianship of her children. She pleaded destitution and was given work as charwoman in the shelter where her children were detained. While she was so employed she gave birth to an illegitimate child, and claimed that James, who at this time was nearly 17, was the father.

He did not deny the charge, and even professed a desire to marry his aunt, who is over 30. At this turn of affairs the town overseer of the poor hurried the boy out of town to live with a distant relative and to work for his board.

No one believes that James is the father of this child. The aunt's statement is probably the result of a plot between herself and the boy's mother. The mother, a "practical nurse," largely supports the family by her earnings. She desires to have James sent to some institution where she will not have to meet his expenses.

This is not the first time that she has attempted to distort justice, according to the opinion of the community. Sixteen years ago she

accused her husband of assault against one of the was then a mere child. It is the general belief that but that she was trying to protect the real offender, however, and spent seven years in jail. Or returned to his wife, with whom he has lived ever since probably feeble-minded as well as James. He a laborer.

*Case 13.*—Lizzie Wolf is a big, overgrown, jolly liked by most people, but lacking in home training standards of behavior; for example, she swears like and picturesquely. She has not been to school since into B, when she was 13, possibly because her size to think her older than she really was. She is very undoubtedly of normal mentality.

Lizzie began to work out as a domestic servant and it was then that her troubles started. Her with the Millers, a wealthy family living on a large estate, several men were employed. There was also a son whose character is open to suspicion. When Mr. Miller finally became aware that Lizzie's conduct with the son was improper she was discharged and sent home.

Lizzie's father, doubting the accusation against a physician whose examination confirmed the charge, the son of a farmer living near the Millers, on whom the charge seemed to be centered, ran away to Canada, where he lived for two years.

After this experience Lizzie worked in dry house, then went to a neighboring city, where she has again found employment as a domestic.

Lizzie's home surroundings were as bad as possible. Her father is a horse doctor and a disreputable character. He is lazy, and foul-mouthed. The mother works out as a domestic. He reads the paper at home. It is said that the late owner of the place he lived gave him \$25 as an inducement to move.

### COMMUNITY C.

C is an old-time village, a mile and a half up the river away from the railroad and its station. It is a typical village in the surrounding farming country. The village has a library—an unusual thing in a place of less than 100 people—kept open two days in the week by a volunteer. It is given to raise funds for the school, for an organ, for story books for the library, and for supplies without the aid of taxes.

The schoolhouse is well kept and attractive. Both the teachers are natives of the village, have ideals and pride, know the children thoroughly with the family conditions of each one, and, therefore, can be lenient or intelligently severe. While there is some irregularity in attendance when the weather is bad, there is no great amount of truancy. Usually a warning by the truant officer is sufficient to check such as exists. The number of school children is steadily decreasing.

Besides general farming and work on the estates of summer residents, the only industries are the quarrying of native stones and a small sawmill. Neither gives work to any large number of men. Women get only an occasional day's work, since most of the families do their own housework, except washing and ironing.

Except for the usual tasks of the children, there is no child-labor problem. At times a child will take his working papers and be steadily employed by his father, but there is no general tendency to take the children out for work or to take the certificates as a relief from going to school. When possible the children go away from home to continue their education.

After leaving school many of the girls who do not marry young go to a near-by women's college to work as waitresses, or go to the cities for domestic service or to factories. The boys drift into various occupations.

There are three active churches to divide the support of perhaps 500 people all told, men, women, and children, counting all those who may drive in from miles around. There have been some attempts at consolidation, none of them successful. The three salaries combined would be only fair for one minister. It is a mark of progress that consolidation is even considered. All the churches are active in the social life of the village with their "socials," suppers, and parties.

The community boasts an active grange; a group of young women have a rather exclusive camp-fire council; a casino on one of the estates is available for private dances; there are picnics and excursions in summer, and much visiting between families in winter.

With all these advantages C has its slummy back street, which for many years has been shunned by respectable people.

The people living here belong to a sort of tribe common through all the region. Among them it is customary for a woman whose husband is dead, or who has deserted her, to go and live with some man whose wife has died or deserted him. For young girls the lines are more closely drawn, and an illegitimate baby of an unmarried girl is rare. The men are laborers off and on, who readily get work on farms but who can not do things intelligently, and must be constantly watched, even when they try their hardest. The

women are untrained in everything, because most of their lives they have had "nothing to do with" and no chance to learn. Scanty furnishings, food plentiful or scarce as there is money to buy, and clothing given by neighbors make up their household equipment.

The nearest justice of the peace lives about 2 miles away, and cases are brought before him very rarely. The children grow up hardly realizing that there are laws or courts to which they might become amenable. Malicious mischief often goes unpunished through the difficulty of dealing with it or through fear of reprisals.

*Case 1.*—In the back street above described lives the Walker-Cartwright alliance. Walker deserted his wife and Mrs. Cartwright took her two children and left her husband. Without the formality of a divorce or of a ceremony the alliance has added five names to the census. The children in school have to be watched for their light fingers. They live a hand-to-mouth existence, with family fights for recreation.

*Case 2.*—Near by live the Clark family. The father drinks and the mother is ignorant. The oldest girl is "wild," at 16 fully developed, "boy crazy," but bright and intelligent, needing chiefly to have her energies satisfied and directed. The next, a boy, hangs around with teamsters and rough characters by preference, and is wise beyond his years. To the minister, who gently reproved one of the members of this family who attended his Sunday school, came the answer "Oh, go to h——." Instead of thrashing the boy the minister went to the constable.

*Cases 3 and 4.*—Charlie is one of those who has yet to learn respect for authority. He is restless, active, one of the town terrors, and is blamed for having a hand in most of the mischief that is done. He often plays truant to go hunting with the older boys or to go on a long drive with one of his teamster friends. He swears, chews, drinks, and smokes. He is easily excited; the men in the store give him drink and strong cigars and then laugh at his semi-intoxicated actions.

His teacher says that he can get his lessons easily when he will, but that he has "spells," when he refuses to do anything. He is frankly tired of going to school, having entered when he was 4. Last year he gave a great deal of trouble because of the sex knowledge which he insisted upon teaching to other children.

He belongs to one church, but attends services, socials, and even prayer meeting in any of the three churches. He is evidently a child without sufficient outlet for his energy who is trying everything around him.

His sister is one of the village girls who are inclined to be wild. She is well developed at 15, is self-conscious and rather bold, a type common on a city street, but noticeable in a quiet village. She is regular in school, with occasional half days out for home duties.

The father and mother are well-intentioned people, but have no other idea of discipline for their children than a thrashing. The father drinks, the mother is slack, the family income is low, and the children have few pleasures and none that cost money.

*Case 5.*—Victor, the 9-year-old son of a neighbor, is another town terror. So far as his years permit, he follows in all things the lead of Charlie. The family is just on the edge of poverty; the father works steadily but for small wages; the mother is always ailing and a poor manager. The boy is quite without discipline out of school hours.

*Case 6.*—Just outside of C lives the Foster family. The Fosters first became known to the children's society when the sheriff asked the agent to come to the jail and see Bessie, arrested for stealing.

Bessie left home and went to work when she was 13. While there was no actual want in the home, she was the fifth child who had gone away, half grown, untrained, undisciplined. The two boys who went West write back at rare intervals that they are doing well. The two older girls finally drifted to New York City.

There are left at home the father and mother with three children. Edith, aged 13, is tall and well grown, good natured, and, except for her eyes, not noticeably defective. She has apparently reached her limit in the village school, for she has been in the third grade several years. Jennie, 11, is pert and forward, bright and capable, but is getting restless at home. Arthur, 9, is a fairly good boy in school, but he is not very bright.

The father is queer, drinks heavily and often, farms in a slipshod way the few acres which he partly owns, but never has anything ahead. Each spring he must go in debt for seed. He is suspected by neighbors of taking things from the adjoining estates—plows, tools, or anything which is not locked up. Bessie is thought by the neighbors to "come honestly by her light fingers." When drunk the father is foul-mouthed and abusive to his family, until the mother and children are so afraid of him that they lock themselves in one bedroom at night. If he kept sober he could provide well for his family.

The mother is thin, nervous, and overwrought. Usually she works hard on the farm, doing a man's work beside her husband, but occasionally she goes out for a day's work to get money to buy clothes for the children, which she says the father will never supply.

Frequently the mother makes complaint to the village constable, asking to have her husband arrested; but she has relented so often that usually she is sent home with a bit of advice. The constable says she is nervous, "nags," accuses her husband of "running after other women, until any man would get drunk to get away from her nasty disposition."

It was from this home training that Bessie went to work. When arrested she admitted taking clothes and wearing them, but justified herself by saying that the woman had not paid her wages. She was released, taken home by her father, and later went to work in a summer-resort hotel. Now she is married to a boy from a family similar to her own, except that the mother was unusually thrifty and capable and brought up her boys well in spite of the intemperate habits of the father. The young couple have a baby, are well liked at the summer-resort where they work, and are making a fair home.

*Case 7.*—One of the boys living near the village, who has been sent to Industry, is typical of a number of other boys in the vicinity. He comes of a shiftless, ne'er-do-well tribe. When he was a baby his mother left his father and came to keep house for an unmarried uncle and, again tiring, went away and left the boy. The uncle, an exceptional member of the tribe, is industrious, thrifty, capable, and a good citizen according to his lights. While practically illiterate himself, he married an intelligent woman; and they have saved what is considered in that region a modest fortune—probably ten or twelve thousand dollars. They have built themselves a nice house and live comfortably.

He did his best by the nephew who had been left to his care; but the boy associated with a bad lot, including some of his degenerate relatives, and was on the way to becoming thoroughly incorrigible. The uncle, the justice of the peace, and the minister, after many talks decided that it would be wise to send the boy away for a time. The uncle has gone to Industry to visit the boy and expects to look after him when he comes out.

### COMMUNITY D.

D is a rural township of some 1,500 inhabitants, containing no village of any considerable size. The backbone of the township is a rocky ridge of infertile land, with a fringe of depressed families along an old turnpike. The district schools are small and overcrowded. One of them has had for several years an unpleasant reputation as being a center of childish precocity in sex matters. The people of the village blame the large number of placed-out children here for this situation.

The churches are ineffective. In a town of 1,500 inhabitants the more important one has a congregation of about 50, mostly women. Its church suppers are held in one of the old turnpike hotels, where liquor is sold illegally and where questionable automobile parties sometimes put up. One of the ministers of this same church was a disreputable person. Finding his salary too small for his needs he more than doubled his income by serving as the village barber. His

barber shop was a popular resort for the young men of the village because of the racy stories which he was able to relate. He came to the town an unmarried man; during his stay the daughter of the saloonkeeper bore an illegitimate child; the paternity was traced to this man, and a forced marriage followed. Later he was convicted of abusing his horse and disappeared, leaving his wife and child. Soon after the desertion the young wife died, and the boy is now being brought up in his grandfather's "blind tiger." He was one of the delinquent cases included in this study.

The successor to this pulpit was a young lawyer, who lived and did business in a near-by city. He remained in D but a short time, because rumors became prevalent connecting his name with one of the married women of the parish.

He was succeeded by a man of negative type, who was not aware that any juvenile delinquency existed in the town, though the information secured from the more intelligent and wide-awake people of the town revealed a great deal.

The township of D is supposed to be "dry," but it is so only on paper. A corrupt county political machine makes it difficult to enforce the law without large funds with which to offer rewards for the conviction of violators of the excise law. D does not possess the funds necessary for this enforcement. The result is that anyone can get a drink at the "blind tiger," provided he is known to be "all right."

In D drink seems to have a stronger hold on the boys than in other neighboring towns; and this is partly due to the fact that in an adjoining township, only 2 miles from the village of D, is a large incorporated village with a population of about 3,000. In this town there are large shops, several movies, billiard and pool and bowling places, several flourishing saloons, weekly dances, excellent trolley and railroad connections, and everything designed to attract young people. It is spoken of as the "toughest little town in the county."

This town seems to absorb everything good from the surrounding country and gives in return nothing but evil. The churches in the town have attracted the more well-to-do people in D and left the two little churches in D with only 30 or 40 members; the schools in the town have taken the better class of children from D and left only those from the humbler families.

As a result there is no community feeling in D. With the attractive saloons in the larger town doing a good business it is not felt worth while in D, only 2 miles distant, actually to enforce the no-license law. D is an apathetic, "dead and alive," place and gets no strength from the town. For example, a few years ago there was organized in the town a branch of the Boy Scouts which lived for



some time under the auspices of the churches. Then ill feeling arose between these churches over some details of the management and no one could be found willing to carry on the work. Consequently, the Boy Scouts' organization died, and now throughout the approximately 100 square miles of which the town is a center on a 5-mile radius, there is not a single agency actively interesting itself in the welfare of the country children.

The following cases were found in D:

*Case 1.*—Martin is the child of the saloonkeeper's daughter and the preacher-barber to whom reference has been made. After the father deserted his wife and the mother died, Martin was left to be brought up by an unscrupulous grandfather and a grandmother who is mildly insane. His life has been spent in a disreputable old road house. He spends his time with boys 5 years older than himself; they are a very bad influence.

Though the boy is only 11 years old, he can drink down a glass of beer in his grandfather's saloon with as much gusto as the men. In fact, he has grown up in a bar room, which opens from the family sitting room. The boy runs the streets of the village day and night. He has been known, with the other boys, to steal grapes from gardens and strew them ruthlessly over the sidewalks; to pull up shrubs and trample flower beds. He is the boy who took squashes from the vines and put them on the road in order to hear them pop under the weight of passing automobiles.

The people of the town resent the mischievous acts of Martin and his gang, but no action has been taken in the matter, except the effort of one philanthropic lady to start a boys' club as an offset to this youthful rowdyism. Martin's grandfather, however, would not permit him to attend the boys' club. Whatever benefit other boys may have received from the experiment, Martin never got away from the influence of the "blind tiger" and his disreputable grandfather.

Martin is a very bright boy, and, in the village school, he is already in the sixth grade. But even here he has not been under good influences. This school has suffered from one of those eddies of vulgar conduct and talk, apt to start from one child or clique and to draw in others who probably only half understand its nature. In this case the source of trouble appeared to have been a 16-year-old placed-out boy. He was expelled from the school because a 9-year-old girl from one of the better families accused him of saying indecent things. Several months later this same girl wrote Martin an improper note on which obscene pictures were drawn.

There are other mischievous boys in this village, but no other is quite so constantly in the forefront of trouble as Martin. He drinks, smokes, is profane and indecent; he is having premature sex

experiences; he is a lawless and wanton destroyer of other people's property.

*Case 2.*—Harry is a 15-year-old boy in this same village of D, who is a friend of Martin and probably leads him into mischief. Harry is known as the smartest boy in the town. He is the local authority on the European war. He reads several papers every day and has procured a great many books on the war from admiring friends.

Harry's mother is a widow who acts as housekeeper for a wealthy old farmer with whom Harry is a great favorite. Harry is considered too good for the little village school which Martin attends, and so he is sent to the fine school in the large town only 2 miles distant. In order to show his contempt for the village school, Harry entered the vestibule recently and broke every one of the individual drinking glasses. His punishment consisted in being kicked off the premises by the janitor.

Harry is more than mischievous, he is dishonest. One evening Harry and his gang were wrestling and scuffling on the piazza of the corner grocery. They barely escaped breaking one of the large show windows and the proprietor ordered them off the piazza. Thereupon Harry led his gang around behind the store and broke all the rear windows within reach. For this offense the proprietor demanded 25 cents from each boy. Harry did not have the 25 cents, so he borrowed the sum from another boy and was also intrusted with an additional 25 cents as this second boy's contribution. Possessed now of 50 cents, he appropriated the whole amount, and neither the groceryman nor the other boy ever got his money.

Harry and Martin influence each other with bad results. If Harry leads Martin into nocturnal mischief, Martin, on the other hand, attracts Harry to the saloon with the result that Harry is getting the reputation of being a "tough, young corner loafer," smoking cigarettes and occasionally getting a surreptitious drink. It is Harry's misfortune to be so bright and attractive that he has never received the discipline at home which he has needed.

*Case 3.*—Edward Lord is now 21 years old, weighs 200 pounds, and is one of the worst young drunkards of the village.

Edward's first overt act of delinquency was committed at the age of 15. Then, in company with other boys, he threw several dozen rotten eggs at a passing automobile. All the other boys ran away; but Edward stood his ground, was arrested, and fined \$15, which was paid by his father. Since then he has had no court record, though he has the reputation of being a thief.

When in his eighteenth year, in company with two fellows about 20 years old known as the "Rider boys," he is said to have taken old Mrs. Atwood's horse and buggy from her barn one night and driven to another town, where they stole chickens, which they after-

wards sold to the butcher. The "Rider boys" are a drunken, thieving pair who are constantly breaking the law, and therefore the worst sort of an influence upon a boy with delinquent tendencies.

The next year many hams were stolen from smokehouses near the Lord home. One night the dog's barking awakened a neighbor in time to see Ed beating a hurried retreat from the back yard, where a smokehouse was situated.

Ed's drinking began at an early age. When he was only 18 he became so violent with drink one night at home that his father had to telephone to the constable for protection against him. The constable was obliged to remain with them several hours before it was safe to leave him alone.

The father's own character and history are peculiar. He is a doctor, and some years ago he gave up a fine city practice and removed his family to this unpromising little country village. The rumor is that unprofessional behavior forced his retirement. He is a skilled surgeon and is often called into consultation by the country doctors roundabout. He is constantly embroiled in quarrels with his neighbors, is painfully talkative, and appears somewhat unbalanced. The family was very poor when the children were younger, and Dr. Lord often went to neighbors to beg for food. He has a reputation for great eccentricity. Mrs. Lord is also peculiar and is always in a controversy with some one.

For the last year Ed is said to have worked industriously as a farm laborer, earning about \$1.50 a day. Every few weeks he indulges in a drinking bout, but his daylight behavior is always quiet and gentlemanly, and he makes a very good impression.

*Cases 4 and 5.*—Benjamin Morris and Sidney Stevens were associated in breaking into a country grocery store. At the time Ben was 18 and Sidney was 16.

Ben's father is a well-balanced man, sober, industrious; he works early and late, carrying on a dairy farm and running a milk route. But on his mother's side Ben's family influence is not so good.

Mrs. Morris has no sense of money value. She runs up big bills in the shops, which she is unable to pay, and is always trying to borrow things from her neighbors. She rarely succeeds in doing so in recent years because of her reputation for never returning the borrowed articles. She is loud in her manner and vulgar in her speech.

Unfortunately, Ben greatly resembles her. He is now 20 years old, and one of the village sports. He is bright, good-looking, and hail fellow well met with the other young men; but, aside from a slight tendency to drink, he has not been openly delinquent since breaking into the store when he was 18. This occurred one Sunday morning, when the boys thought that the proprietor was at church, but they were mistaken in this and he caught them red-handed. They

had forced open a rear window and were about to make off with cigarettes, candy, and about 50 cents in change, when they were suddenly outflanked by his entrance. Their punishment consisted in being thrashed by their fathers (sufficiently humiliating, considering that they were almost grown men); this punishment was the store owner's alternative to legal prosecution.

Ben has an independent spirit. He left school from the seventh grade at the age of 16, and since then has worked on various farms, but has been unable to remain long at any one place because of his quarrelsome disposition. In this delinquency Ben undoubtedly was the leader and Sidney the one who was led, since Sidney was only 16 at the time and has always been a dull boy—something of a butt for the livelier boys.

Sidney had but recently left school at that time, having advanced no further than the fifth grade at the age of 16. He is overgrown for his age, being larger and heavier than Ben, who is two years his senior. He has never had other employment than work on his father's 300-acre farm. He occasionally "goes to town with the boys," which means playing pool at a saloon very popular with the younger element, where drinks are served. It will be surprising if Sidney does not become a heavy drinker, since his father is a confirmed drunkard, and the hired man, who is Edward Lord of the previous record, is the boy's constant companion. Sidney's father inherited a large and valuable fruit farm, but, because of his uncontrolled drinking habits, it has become mortgaged to almost its full value.

*Case 6.*—Fred Bannon was 14 last winter, when he was convicted before the justice of the peace of having stolen skunk traps, which other persons had set in the frozen swamp near Fred's own traps. In this case the justice of the peace violated the law of 1911 in that he did not transfer the case to the county court but adjudicated it himself. He tried to avoid any legal responsibility for so doing by failure to make a complete record of the case and by assigning no court number to it. The disposition made by the judge was that Fred should make restitution of the property and that he should leave town. This latter requirement reflects the community's attitude toward the boy. He is cordially disliked because of his many unpleasant qualities.

Fred is an undersized, undernourished, mean-looking boy, who smokes incessantly. He is accused of all sorts of petty dishonesty; he bullies smaller boys and annoys little girls. Fred always absented himself from school a great deal, and left the sixth grade as soon as he was 14. He seems to be normally bright, though very peculiar in his manner, rather furtive, and wholly uncommunicative.

[illegible]

correction more than Herbert, was not punished at all by S.

and Malcolm are not fortunate in their mother. Mrs. S. is a "practical nurse" and is away from home most of the time. The boys are obliged to take care of themselves. It is unlikely, that they would greatly profit by their mother's presence if she were at home, for she is a slattern, and it is thought that she is a questionable character. The boys' father is a farm laborer, of good habits but of weak nature. He is completely dominated by his wife. The family has been in town only three years, and is now making plans to move to an adjoining town, where the father hopes to find regular work.

*Cases 9 and 10.*—Richard Park and his cousin Jennie, both of whom were 15 the winter before the investigation, are large, strong men with amiable faces. It is very probable that both are feeble-minded. The boy is known as a petty thief, and the girl has recently become the mother of an illegitimate child, the father of which is a man 20 years old, who has finally decided to marry her. It is not thought in the town that Jennie has had other immoral relations. Her present condition appears to be due to ignorance and feeble mentality. The girl has scarcely gone to school at all. The school authorities paid no heed to her because of her so-called feeble-mindedness. She has always remained rather closely at home.

Richard, on the other hand, has been in school, though so irregular in his attendance that he has never advanced beyond the third grade. He was very troublesome in school; also, he has committed other more serious offenses. On one occasion he took a horse from a pasture and rode it so long and so hard that the animal died. On another occasion he bought eggs at one grocery store on account and immediately sold them for cash to a store across the street. It is thought that someone else instigated this latter proceeding, for the boy himself was hardly capable of showing such business ability. He has stolen anything and everything—chickens, vegetables, firewood. One man found him in his back shed taking a pair of boots.

Richard also has the habit of repeating improper expressions learned from a notorious gang of young men who have done much to corrupt not only Richard but all the delinquent boys in this village.

The fathers of these two children, Richard and Jennie, are brothers—James and John Park. James, the father of Richard, is mentally subnormal, illiterate, and incapable of earning a living for his family. John, the father of Jennie, is probably subnormal also; he is immoral and lazy. Both men are drinkers, and their wives are both said to be mentally subnormal. They have been in town only

two years, working only part of the time and largely supported by their wives, who are the village scrubwomen and washwomen. The men belong to the nomadic farm-labor class. The family has now moved from town, and nothing is known either of their history before they came to B or their present behavior in their new surroundings.

*Case 11.*—Walter Preston is a pathetic little ragamuffin of 10, who has been driven by poverty to take things not belonging to him. The father, who is a tenant farmer and has been in town only two years, is a drunken, dissolute man who fails to support his family properly. He has a court record for stealing chickens, and was recently found in a disreputable resort which was raided.

Mrs. Preston is a dispirited household drudge, who is regularly beaten and insulted by her husband. Walter helps her to support the three smaller children by working as a berry, fruit, and vegetable picker all summer long.

Already the family is planning to move again. The owner of the house in which they live refuses to allow them to stay longer because of their bad reputation, and for the same reason Preston pretends to find difficulty in getting work.

Walter goes to school very irregularly because of his work at home and because of the fact that they live more than two miles from the schoolhouse, and bad weather seriously interferes with his traveling. His father provided no books for him, and one of Walter's delinquencies consisted in stealing books from the desks of other children and carrying them home. He was suspected, the home searched, and the books taken from him. His punishment was a whipping by the teacher. This teacher reports him to be a well-behaved child and in the fifth grade though only 10 years old.

Another delinquency was in connection with his work as fruit picker in the cherry season. He was caught appropriating the filled baskets of other workers and discharged. The owner of the cherry orchard happens to be the justice of the peace of this village, and it was his emphatic opinion that "the boy has criminal tendencies."

Another delinquency of Walter's is the stealing of traps, which he found in the swamp. The traps were found in his possession and were taken from him.

Following are certain cases of feeble-mindedness which have shown tendencies toward delinquency.

*Cases 12, 13, 14, and 15.*—The Francis family is of French-Canadian origin and at present consists of three different households in adjacent towns. Some 15 years ago old Mr. Francis came from Canada with his three children in their teens—Antoine, Christophe, and Marie. Marie is now Mrs. Simpson. She is feeble-minded and has several feeble-minded children. Antoine, who has never been

very strong mentally, has become an alcoholic wreck, but his children are apparently normal. Christophe himself has never been able to earn very much, and the family has been in constant receipt of assistance from the town and from the churches and private individuals. This family turns religion to profit by attending the church whence comes the largest amount of help. Both Christophe and his wife are illiterate. He is wall-eyed and, she looks like some small rodent, with a tremendous nose and very close-set eyes. She also has a defective palate which affects her speech, a peculiarity shared by all three of her children.

These people live at present in a tumble-down house on the outskirts of another village; but their places of residence in the last three years are numerous. Three years ago the family lived in D, and at that time a woman of very bad reputation lived with them. The situation was so offensive that the neighbors made a complaint to the children's society, which removed the two older children—Rose, at that time 5 years old, and Alfred, 6—and placed them out. Both these children were so troublesome that no family could be found to care for them. The boy Alfred, is said to have taken a hammer and broken all the plumbing in his foster home. The children were accordingly returned to their parents, who had in the meantime moved and left their objectionable boarder behind them.

The boy, Alfred, has just been expelled from the village school because of his incorrigible behavior. He has been to school for two years, but does not even know his letters though he is now 9 years old. At school he would crawl about the floor on his hands and knees; he would pound and kick on his desk, and no amount of punishment seemed to impress him. His father says that "the schools can't make children learn like they uster." Alfred recently set fire to the house by piling things in the middle of the kitchen floor and then touching a match to them. Rose, aged 8, has inherited not only her mother's defective utterance but also her father's wall-eyedness; furthermore, she has a slight spinal curvature, and though she runs about and plays, she does not go to school. The third child is a boy of 5. He has the defective utterance of the others and bears a strong resemblance to his mother.

Another branch of the Francis family consists of Antoine and his wife and two children and old Mr. Francis, who has become a hopeless imbecile.

Antoine is a tenant farmer, who has moved from one farm to another every few years. His health is now broken down by heavy drinking and he can do little work. He has had delirium tremens repeatedly and is in a fair way to fall into the same condition as his father, who is at times dangerously insane, though he usually



sits in a state of melancholy beside the kitchen stove. Occasionally the old man becomes violent.

Antoine's wife is a bright woman and comes from a decent family. Her two children, a boy 9 years old and a younger girl, are bright. The boy has been kept out of school during the autumn for a total of six weeks for farm work. He picks up vegetables, potatoes, and carrots, and helps his mother in many ways when her husband is drunk. The family claims that the child is out of school on account of sickness, but he naively says that he stays out to work.

The third branch of the Francis family is headed by Marie, who married a man named Simpson. Mrs. Simpson has three boys—Frank, 18; Tom, 14; and Ned, 8 years old. These three boys, as well as their mother, are all probably subnormal mentally. The father does not live with his family, though he supports them in a meager fashion. He is a teamster in the city and lives there with another woman, but he comes out on Sunday to visit his wife and children. He is normal mentally.

Mrs. Simpson and the boys live in an old house in the center of the village with protesting neighbors on all sides of them. These neighbors protest because this family ekes out its miserable existence, in addition to what the father gives them and what Mrs. Simpson earns casually as a scrub woman, by very extensive pilferings. Mrs. Simpson has been known to send the boys out to steal from bakers' carts standing in the street, from fruit venders, and from grocery wagons. Then, when the boys return to the house laden with booty, she can be heard eagerly questioning them as to what luck they have had and whether they were caught.

These boys pick up farm tools—anything in fact. One neighbor left his coat lying on the grass and went into the house for a moment. When he came out the coat was gone. Another neighbor, repairing his automobile, left the monkey wrench on the running board and went around the machine. When he came back the wrench was gone.

A neighboring farmer caught Tom one summer morning at 3 o'clock prowling about the barn. The boy had his face blacked with charcoal and was wearing some old clothes of his father's as a "disguise."

These boys have a gun, a common dangerous practice among country boys. Frank and Tom break all the game laws, especially that of shooting pheasants on the nest. When protests have been made concerning their conduct, the visitant father has threatened that he will "shoot anybody" who interferes with his boys' liberty.

These boys are also truant from school a great deal, though they live only across the street from the schoolhouse. Frank, who is 18, left school two years ago from the fifth grade. Tom is 14 and only in the fourth grade. He absented himself from school 19 whole days

one autumn, an equivalent of about 4 weeks. His mother asserts that she needs his help; as a matter of fact, he merely roams about the town.

In school Tom behaves very badly, and the teacher seems rather relieved to have him stay away. Possibly for this reason, and because it is felt that this boy can not profit greatly by being kept in school, no attempt has been made to enforce the truancy law.

*Case 16.*—Horace Pryor is the only child met with in this investigation whose principal offense is willful truancy, and also one of the comparatively few children who shows signs of nervous abnormality. His health is not good and he claims to be troubled with pains in the stomach.

Horace entered the high school in a town which is 2 miles from D, but he claims that he did not wish to go to high school, and that it was his mother who made him. Horace's father, a minister, died three years ago. The standards of the family are high to the point of becoming narrow. An older brother and sister, both about to graduate from the high school, are models of propriety. Yet the mother, who tries to force her wishes upon the boy, is a silly person, ill-fitted to bring up a somewhat peculiar boy.

For instance, it is her firmly expressed desire that Horace shall become a "professor of piano playing." Horace as firmly says that he wishes to be an engineer. Accordingly, Horace has been put through many piano lessons, seems to enjoy playing and plays well, but it can not be doubted that he would be better off if he were to spend three hours a day sawing and splitting wood for the woodpile.

Horace formed the habit of staying away from high school, and now spends his time about the town in such places as naturally attract boys. He has been intimate with Martin, who lives in a saloon, and with him and others of this gang hangs about the saloon corner and smokes cigarettes.

After some time Mrs. Pryor learned of his truancy and placed him in a private school in an adjoining town run by the denomination to which she belongs. Horace liked this no better than he did the high school, so he came home; and now his mother is in a helpless, flustered state of mind and "can't imagine" what she ought to do next.

Meantime Horace is playing pool in the resorts in the next town, and when at home, gaining his mother's leniency by fostering her belief that he is very ill with stomach trouble. Horace's age and school grade entitle him to make application for a labor certificate, but he has not done so, and his mother does not wish to make application; in other words, he is an idle truant, rapidly becoming demoralized, and overlooked by school authorities.

At this time there were six men with purchases. The clock,

provided with a wooden door to conceal the face, is allowed to run down, and no one knows at just what moment the hands come to rest. Once a week purchasers gather with their cards at the store, and the clock door is opened in the presence of all, that there may be no cheating. The purchaser who holds the card with the hour, minute, and second nearest to the stopping time receives a prize.

At 3 o'clock the clock is opened, and from 2 p. m. on little else is thought of in the town. Groups of women hurry along the streets, farm wagons drive in; those who can not go send their cards by a trusted friend. Around the store the scene is one of the greatest congestion and excitement. The street in front is filled with wagons and buggies. Most of the men stay outside—all classes being represented, from the young men one meets at the dances to staid old farmers. It is well-nigh impossible to crowd into the store. The air inside is stiflingly hot.

As the clock is opened any pretense of indifference vanishes. The young men forget their sangfroid and eagerly call out their numbers. Out-door numbers are shouted across the street. The ladies at the cracker boxes sort their cards and peer eagerly around. The slow old farmers are bending over their wives' tickets, mumbling the numbers, though they scoffed five minutes ago. Disappointment is keen as the set of dishes goes to the giddiest of the young men. The women trail disgustedly homeward.

The storekeeper is criticized for this business, and the people know that it is against the law, but no one wishes to stop an event of such marked sporting interest.

At night the town takes on a dark and mysterious aspect, especially around the foundry and the pool room. There are no street lights, so everyone goes around with an oil lantern or a flashlight. From 6 to 7 p. m. a continual procession of people passes to and fro to the post office, whereas during the day the streets are deserted. Lights gleam on all the ways, and it is a time of excitement and gossip. Groups of men and boys wander about or loiter on the corners, longing for something to do. Later they end up in the principal store or the pool room. The former place of an evening becomes the social center; the men and boys use it as a club.

Young men of good social standing go to the pool room several evenings a week. One of them runs it, and they saw wood and build the fire themselves. They play for small sums of money. Otherwise, the place is orderly and affords needed amusement. For further recreation the young men go to the neighboring city, where many visit the movies and the theaters, while others frequent less reputable places. Some of the older young men play poker on the sly. The influence on the younger boys is bad, for they follow the example and gamble when they can ill afford it.



high ridges. Last summer they worked hard to earn enough to go camping, and camped for a week or so in a picturesque spot far away. The attendance falls off between seasons, sometimes five or six attending, but they all come in again at Christmas. The young minister is a lay reader, still studying at a seminary.

He has charge of a church in another village, and says by that he knows nothing of the communities or of the people in this village which presents the most interesting problem because of personality of the minister and his conflict with the opinions of parishioners. This man comes with a great ardor for reform.

He holds advanced views on church activities. His sermons often extenuates against the separation of a representative religion from the demands of everyday life, but he is hampered in this by his congregation.

All these churches bear witness that boys and girls to a large extent leave church at the age of 14 or thereabouts. At this age the sure fire parents learn them to seek amusements and since these are condemned by the churches the young people drop out.

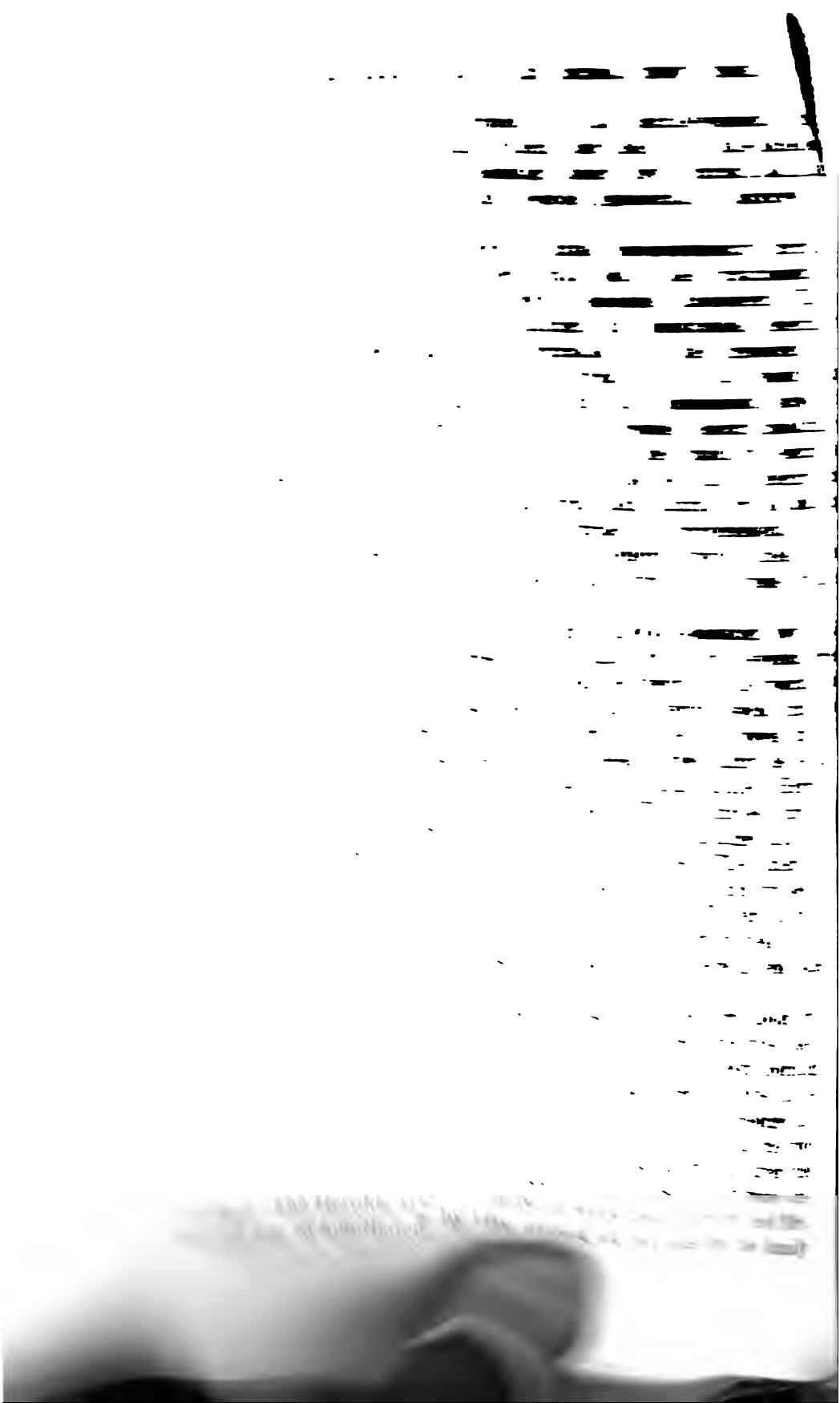
The school at E proves the great value of a socially minded principal and a good school is a winning community. The principal makes the school life of the children so interesting that he has no problem of discipline, and he is trying to build sound moral principles through the school and the Boy Scouts. But here as in other country neighborhoods the boys usually stop going to school as soon as they start of the 14 pupils between 12 and 14 were over 14, and 1 of these had his working papers that he might occasionally work in the farm.

The most noteworthy feature of the school is the attitude of acceptance and friendliness between the principal and the pupils and their cooperation in the school life.

The teacher is wise to provide the student with needed discipline and her position with the children is peculiar. She needs a careful weighing of social mores and the moral situation. Her position is somewhat of a balance between school and home discipline. Since she lives in another village she is somewhat removed from the influence of local social mores.

Little money goes to the school, and very little goes to the rest of the year, in fact of which the school is the only one to work. Then there is support of the church office with children.

The principal has spent her time in making to be a mother of the way of the school. Her position is somewhat of a balance between school and home discipline. Since she lives in another village she is somewhat removed from the influence of local social mores. The Saturday afternoon of the year is the only time a religious service is held in the church, and when it is held it is held in the



ly soon after. In the trial, it came out that Lawrence Porter boy, had "fired a revolver on the public highway." He arrested, and admitted that he bought the stolen gun of the justice said: "He was too nice a boy to file a certificate in clerk's office, so I never did." His parents paid his fine of \$5.00 and he was discharged.

One of the two principal offenders in this case appeared a natural result of family conditions and inheritance. Clyde is the black sheep of a good family. He is a good-looking, a man of 37, but a drinker and a member of a gang of men and have a reputation for dishonesty, such as neighborhood stealing. He was always very stern with Clyde, whipping frequently for disobedience. He never gave the boy any to spend, nor did he give him any actual training.

Clyde's mother is a pretty, attractive young woman. She dresses and keeps her house clean and in good order. She earns \$2.50 a week working out and doing washing. But she belongs to a family which is notorious. Her father stole and was otherwise dishonest. Several of the girls "went wrong."

At the time of the robberies, Mrs. Harper kept a boarding house for the men on the State road gang, and Mr. Harper did nothing.

Both Clyde and George Dodd were a great deal in the company of the men boarders at Clyde's house: from them they may have learned much that was bad.

George is a boy of a very different type from Clyde. Whereas Clyde is handsome and attractive, fond of the social life of the town, and very popular, George is a dirty, ugly boy; however, the children seem to have liked George. He was allowed to live under most degrading conditions. His mother, a half-blooded Indian, left his father, or was turned away by him, when George was young. His father was a queer, ugly, lazy, old man. Mrs. Dodd married him, her second wife, when she was 17 and he was 37. He never would work, and Mrs. Dodd had always been obliged to help support the family. She claims that she did all she could to keep the family together, and that she left her husband a number of years ago because he turned one of their sons out of doors for refusing to give his father all his money. It is said by one person, however, that her husband forced her to leave on account of her conduct. After her departure the father and the boys kept house for themselves.

The conduct of the family was most scandalous. George was so dirty that the children would not associate with him. He never brought any dinner to school and the teacher and the children provided their food with him. The storekeeper gave him food and the Dodd family a little. George was he taught to steal by taking "sugar and sausage" at home.



After we saw him in the Harrick house he ~~came~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~next~~ ~~market~~ and took ~~some~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~store~~.

He was ~~very~~ ~~much~~ ~~interested~~ and allowed considerable ~~time~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~spent~~ ~~with~~ ~~him~~ ~~and~~ ~~two~~ ~~other~~ ~~boys~~.

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His family has never ~~seen~~ ~~him~~ ~~since~~ ~~he~~ ~~left~~ ~~home~~ ~~and~~ ~~he~~ ~~would~~ ~~not~~ ~~come~~ ~~back~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~school~~.

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money from the railroad station several times. On one occasion he was caught and gave up the money on the spot. This has been hushed up by his grandparents.

Walter's delinquency seems to be due to physical and mental abnormality. His head is queerly shaped, too large at the top, and he has epileptic fits every two or three months. He has a white skin, lackluster eye, and weak chin. The sight of one eye was injured by a cartridge which exploded in his face five or six years ago.

He is bright enough in some ways; he likes to read—"anything but love stories"—and his manner is a queer combination of diffidence and self-importance. He organized the cadets, a younger branch of the Sons of Veterans, and is very proud of it. He could not join the Boys Scouts because he could not live without the smoking, which has made him too weak to lift himself up on the vaulting pole.

He has had trouble at school because he wished to go when he pleased and stay out when he pleased. The principal says he is bright in some ways, but his mind is lazy. She believes that he will probably become insane in five years or so. The principal wishes that he were out of school, but his grandmother desires him to continue, and blames the teacher for not letting him come as he pleases. Walter hates school. He helps his grandfather in the cider mill, and this autumn he tried for a job in the machine shops in a neighboring town. He likes drawing and would like to become a draftsman, but he is still doing nothing.

The Murphys are a well-to-do family. Walter's mother died when he was 24 hours old, and his grandmother took him to bring up. He has never been healthy, and his grandparents and his uncle have spoiled him. Walter's father is a telegraph operator in another town. He pays Walter's board. Walter is one of the best-dressed boys in the village; he has everything he wants.

The family lives well in every way. The grandfather runs a mill and is quite intelligent and interesting. He admires Walter and would probably not try to discipline him, and Mrs. Murphy always takes Walter's side, refusing to believe that he has done anything wrong. She is active in the church and is an excellent home maker.

*Case 4.*—Truman Franklin belongs to the group next younger than the boys implicated in the house robbery. He is now 16 years old and still attends school. Truman has not done anything very reprehensible, but he has the name of being a bad boy and is considered light-fingered. On one occasion he stole scrap iron from a vacant lot and took it home. The owner found it out and told Truman's father that he wanted it, but the father, after promising to return it, sold it to a junk dealer. Truman is also accused of taking money from the store. Several times he has been a truant.

The principal influences in Truman's life are the Boy Scouts in school and a stern home discipline. He is said to have improved greatly since he joined the Boy Scouts, with whom he is very popular, and is now a nice-appearing, well-mannered boy, wiry and strongly built. He has had all but two regents' preliminaries and gets along well in everything except spelling. He likes school and is devoted to the principal. His father intends to send him away to school after he has finished here—wherever the boy pleases.

He earns a good deal selling papers and doing odd jobs, such as farm work on Saturdays. One month he earned nearly \$15. He handles his own money and buys his clothes out of it.

Truman's father is a rough laboring man, who drinks and does not bear a very good name in the community, and belongs to a bad family. There were eight children, and his father being sick, he had to go to work at 10 years of age. After this he had little schooling, but worked on farms and at lumbering, and has done much better for himself and his family than have his brothers. When he is drunk he is said to whip the children, especially Truman, unmercifully. On all occasions he is a stern, brutal disciplinarian. He is proud of the fact that he gets from \$1.50 to \$3 a day in the foundry. He has bought the house and lot where they live, and has made improvements in the house himself. Mrs. Franklin is not quite bright, but is an excellent housekeeper.

*Cases 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9.*—The Burnses and the Doanes can best be described together.

The Burnses had the worse reputation. They lived one-half mile up the railroad track in an isolated and frightfully dilapidated house. Mrs. Burns is strong and big and coarsely handsome, but much degraded mentally by drink. As soon as her husband left for work it was her habit to go off to drink and beg in the neighboring city, leaving her oldest girl, aged 12, to keep house. She would come back laden with clothes and food, bags of apples and potatoes, which she had begged or stolen, and often in a drunken condition.

She always has a baby, and has five living children now; is about to have another; and has had twins and triplets, all five of which she lost. She made no attempt at housekeeping; the children were so hopelessly dirty that they had to be sent home from school. She has also been known to pilfer from the neighbors.

The three older children, Elizabeth, aged 12; Dewey, aged 9; and Freddie, aged 7—all three bright, black-eyed little things—are noted for stealing. They would come sneaking around the house back of which they lived, and when the owner was away would fish through the windows or crawl into the house, taking apples, squashes, potatoes, or other articles. All three of them were continually truants.

The mother kept Elizabeth out to help keep house, and the officer was always after them.

Finally, Mr. Burns's brother, aged 32, who lived with them, married Jennie Doane, aged 15, in a neighboring town and brought her home with him. She belongs to the Doane family which had formerly lived over the blacksmith shop in E. When she came to E as a wife, Jennie was still so much of a child that she played with the children like one of them. Because she was under age, though married, the truant officer came after her. He told the family that if they would move out of the neighborhood where Jennie was known they would do better, but that he would arrest them and send them to an institution if they stayed here. Consequently, they moved to another town, but their reputation followed them, for the owner of the general store said that he dared not trust Mrs. Burns or the children alone in the store a minute. This is the only licensed town in the vicinity. Though a small place of 1,200 inhabitants, it supports three hotels and two saloons, and it is a tough town; almost any night the streets are infested with drunken men and "wild" girls.

The Burnses moved into a little dilapidated five-room house one-half mile from town, where they had no near neighbors except an old negro from whom they rented, and where they could behave about as they pleased. Besides Mr. and Mrs. Burns and the five children, Tod and his wife, the little Doane girl, lived with them, occupying a room upstairs. They had been here only a week or so when it was discovered that Jennie had robbed her parents' landlady before coming to the Burnses.

The Doanes had lived on the second floor of this old lady's house, a large, square, dilapidated old building set in a remote corner of the town, off the road. The old lady, who is unbalanced, lives here quite alone, and Jennie used to go downstairs and "snoop" around a good deal. Finally, she carried upstairs a trunk which belonged to the old lady. The robbery was discovered through the fact that the Burns children and Nora Doane were buying things at the store with five-dollar and twenty-dollar gold pieces and five-dollar bills. The constable went to the Burnses to arrest Jennie. When she saw him coming she ran upstairs and jumped out of a window, but was soon caught. In the house were found garments, spoons, and other things from the trunk, but Jennie's husband had made good his escape with as much of the money as had not been spent. Mrs. Burns showed such incriminating knowledge of the whereabouts of the trunk that she was arrested on the charge of receiving stolen goods. She and Jennie were locked up in the jail.

When the authorities had convicted Jennie, who pleaded guilty, they could find no place to which to commit her, for she was too young

for institutions which received married women, and not eligible for girls' homes. Jennie was kept for two weeks and a half in the jail with Mrs. Burns, and was then committed to the Syracuse Shelter for Unprotected Girls. Mrs. Burns was bound over to the grand jury.

Mr. Burns seems a decent sort of a man, though he is one of a wretched family. His sisters went wrong as they came of age, and one of the brothers so abused his wife that she died from the effects. Mr. Burns is a day laborer, industrious, and always has work. He feels that his wife ought to be able to do better for the children on his pay, and claims to have known nothing of the stolen goods.

Jennie Doane apparently never had a chance to be anything but delinquent. In E the family lived in destitution over the old blacksmith shop, and received poor relief. The girls, Jennie and Nora, used to go to school without any dinner, and when the teacher asked them why they did not go home at noon, Nora answered: "There ain't no dinner there if we go." The principal found work for the family on a farm, and thought they were finely situated, for the farmer seemed very generous with them. Then Artie Doane, the son, came to work alone for several days, saying that his father was sick, and asked to borrow money to get a doctor. The farmer gave him \$12. Next morning he did not come to work, and it was discovered that the whole family had flitted away to the town from which Tod Burns brought Jennie.

The Doanes became notorious there when Mr. Doane was brought before the justice for beating Nora and fined. He is the most despicable looking old villain one could imagine. He drinks continually and is therefore not dependable, though a good worker when sober.

Both Jennie and Nora were on the streets a good deal. Women in the town protested to the district attorney about the case, but he would not do anything. So the affair was allowed to drift on. At last the father turned Jennie out of the house. The mother decided that the best thing for Jennie would be marriage, since her father behaved so badly, and she was just at the age when girls are in danger.

So Mrs. Doane signed the license papers, saying that Jennie was 18, and, though she looks like a little girl, and a stupid one, both the town clerk and minister acquiesced in the ceremony. Whether Tod Burns knew that Jennie had the stolen money before he married her could not be determined. Why he married her is a mystery. She is an ugly, sallow child, low-browed and full-lipped, little, round-shouldered, and undeveloped, and talks in a husky, eager voice, with a questioning gasp at the end of every phrase. She is quite evidently below par mentally, and at the trial she seemed dull and apathetic;

her eyes roved from face to face, and a worried pucker grew on her forehead.

The woman who taught Jennie when she was 9 years old, 6 years ago, said that at that time she knew what was wrong, but was not strong enough to do right; she seemed to understand when scolded, but would immediately do wrong again. She took little things in school, and stole out of the garden and orchard, but did nothing else out of the way. She never got beyond the fourth grade in school, and stole out of the garden and orchard, but did nothing. She was a good writer, and at 15 did as good work as the 9 and 10 year old children who were in her grade. Jennie insisted that she liked to go to school, and liked all the subjects, especially arithmetic.

Her sister, Nora, is growing up under the same conditions which so injured her older sister. Nora is already quite beyond the control of her parents. Mrs. Doane is not a bad woman and does her best, but she is of a low grade of mentality and perfectly at the mercy of her husband.

The family has moved about continually. The oldest daughter, Susan, has recently married a decent young working man. They live in a nice little house, clean and well kept, far above the standard of the Doanes. Susan is stupid and mild like her mother. Artie, the son, about 18 years old, works on the State road, and his mother says he would be all right if his father did not bother him all the time. Nora has stayed a good deal at her sister's, but the family is not willing to keep her because she acts so badly and chooses dangerous companions. Nora is a nice looking little girl of 12, but has a pert, pouty expression, and is already conscious of her attraction. Her school record is good, but she is only in the second grade. She says that if it were not for her father she would like to stay at home. Mrs. Doane is willing to give Nora up, but Mr. Doane fights against it.

*Cases 10, 11, 12, and 13.*—Ed Lauder, the father, came of a bad family. His mother committed suicide by pouring kerosene over her clothing and setting fire to it. His father drank and gambled. Ed smoked cigarettes to excess and could neither read nor write, but he was clever and could "figure up" when sent to sell produce. His employer said he never had such a faithful man; that he took as much pride in the farm as if it were his own. Mrs. Lauder also belonged to a bad family. Her brother was in State prison for killing a man and she herself was a hard drinker and neglected the children.

These two had four boys, George, Sam, Philip, and Donald, and one girl. The boys used to steal from neighbors. When Philip was only 7 he took a horse and rode it up and down, then brought it to the justice and told him that a neighbor wanted him

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

DEPARTMENT OF THE HISTORY OF ARTS

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Mrs. Rapelyea then gave him up entirely and opened a restaurant in E, where in the summer she just about earns their living, but she closes the restaurant in winter.

*Case 15.*—Lawrence Porter could scarcely be classed as a delinquent, though he committed an act of delinquency, "firing off a gun on the public highway." He was one of the boys arrested in connection with the robbery committed by Clyde Harper and George Dodd, and was one of the crowd who began smoking at 10 years of age, read "Nick Carter," and so on. He is a handsome, big, strong boy of 17, fond of excitement and fights. Hunting, trapping, fishing are his chief joys. He likes lumbering and would like to become a forester. He plays the violin a little, is very fond of music, and has spent his hard-earned money on music lessons. He belongs to a Sunday school class and eagerly joined a young people's choir which they started.

Five or six years ago the Porters moved to E from a small city and now live in a beautiful white farmhouse on a hill about one mile from the village. Mr. Porter works nights as electrical machinist in the power house for \$60 a month. He is a slow, amiable, kindly man. He never had much education, and learned to be an electrician by doing the work. His family generally were a "rough, bad lot"; one brother died in jail, where he was committed for rape. Mr. Porter likes to live and work around on the farm. He allows the children to do as they please, and is troubled by nothing. Mrs. Porter says it would be a good thing if his father would beat Lawrence occasionally and seems worried about his future. Their home is pleasant, well furnished, and well kept; they have a piano, an organ, and much popular music.

Shortly after the escapade with the gun Lawrence left school, because he felt that he was too big, and he had trouble with the teacher. She beat him with a leather strap for kissing a little girl, and he walked out and never came back. He worked on farms for a while, and last summer got "a job" working in the woods with a portable sawmill. He liked this outdoor work very much, the only drawback being that all the men employed there drank heavily. He then got work setting telegraph poles for the railroad company, where he received a good wage, \$2.25 a day. He hates studying, but would like a trade, and is now trying to learn to be a molder in the foundry. He is poorly paid while learning, and his family urges him to go to day laboring again, but he declares that he will "stick to it" until he has learned the trade.

At night he comes down to E in search of excitement, but there is little to be found there. On Saturday night he goes to town with the crowd, but the other boys go to the saloons, and he does not quite wish to do that. He told the investigator that about two weeks be-



fore he decided that he would "go to the bad"; that he would drink and associate with bad company.

*Cases 16 and 17.*—Daisy Vanderveer, aged 15, has been suspected of petty thieving, and it is thought that she has been guilty of sexual immorality. The suspicion of a thieving habit is based on the fact that Daisy was seen examining the bureau drawers in a neighbor's house one day; nothing was missed, but the neighbor felt that she could not trust the child any longer. Also, when Daisy and her sister, Lucilla, now aged 13, were small children of 8 and 10 they took letters from another neighbor's mail box. However, this neighbor said, "They were so little they didn't know any better."

Both the children are rough and use vile language. The neighbors attribute the language to the fact that the children have been in the habit of hearing such talk at home. There is no definite proof that Daisy has actually been implicated in immoral conduct; but from the attitude toward her of the boys and men of the place, and from some of her own admissions to the investigator, it would certainly seem that things are not just right with her in this particular. She is a bright, rather pretty girl, but has a shifty and untrustworthy expression and an undue self-confidence and sophistication of manner. She missed two years in school and is in the eighth grade only, though she is unusually bright and studious and has read a great deal—all the books in the school library. The school-teacher is convinced that both the Vanderveer girls are abnormal, if not mentally yet physically. Daisy has had St. Vitus dance three times.

Lucilla is an unusually pretty girl with vivid red cheeks, curly brown hair, and brown eyes with heavy brows. She is gay and vivacious; likes to act in plays, to speak pieces, and generally to be in evidence. She reads a great deal—school library books such as Hans Brinker and the Silver Skates and the Alger books—and ranks very well in the eighth grade. Lucilla, as well as Daisy, has been suspected of sexual immorality. There is, however, no actual proof, yet it is a fact that she is greatly interested in boys and is very popular with them.

The mother seems fairly intelligent but immature. She is now a large, strong woman, but she had St. Vitus dance as a child. She was adopted when very young, and there is a rumor to the effect that she was about the same type of girl as Daisy and Lucilla. She is very fond of pleasure and of clothes. Apparently, she allows her children to do pretty much as they please.

The family is in fairly good circumstances. Mr. Vanderveer is a molder and receives \$140 a month. They live in a small, white, frame house.

*Case 18.*—Maggie Riordan has been looked at askance in E ever since the Riordans moved there this autumn. At night her method

is to meet the trolleys, to sit on the bench in front of a boy, or to wander the streets. Her chief occupation the mail"; almost any time of the day she may be slowly and heavily to the store.

a large, overgrown, overdeveloped girl of 14. She is really of herself and her beaux. She is a truant, but the principal in E has not paid any attention to her. She was in the same grade when she left school. Her mother says they always stay in the same grade. She does not like work and after having vacation for a week she stays at home, where she does not have anything to do.

Her mother lets her lie in bed and spoils her in every way, and because of Maggie's popularity with boys. Maggie wished to go to college in autumn, but her people would not let her; she claims to be engaged three times. She reads a great deal—Laura Jean, The Dutchess, and Charles Garvice. The boys come to see her frequently, and she sometimes gives parties.

The latest development in Maggie's career is her habit of making trips to the foundry, which the employer has tried to stop. Vile contentions are reported between her and the workmen.

The Riordans rent five rooms and there the father, mother, brother, paternal grandmother, and paternal grandfather live together. Mrs. Riordan seems about the same age as Maggie. She has a splendid physique, used to pitch hay, and do other farm work when they lived on the farm, and now helps her husband unload wood. She went out to work when 12 years old and married at 16. She is a pleasant, friendly woman, but ignorant and foolish, and seems to stand in awe of Maggie. Mr. Riordan is a big, rough, unintelligent man. He is a German, and has to follow his work, so they move continually.

His brother, Francis Riordan, about 17 years old, is a handsome boy, who appears of a better class than he is. He left school at 15, when in the sixth grade, because he wanted to get to work and earn his own clothes, though his grandmother offered to send him to high school.

*Case 19.*—Violet Franklin is the child of Addie Pratt and Fred Franklin, who were married when she was 16 and he 20. By the time Addie was 39 she had had 11 children. Their married life was a series of quarrels; Fred drank terribly, and when drunk abused his wife and children. He turned them out, or she left him, many times. Once he deserted his wife shortly before her confinement, and her aunt, Mrs. Dodd, "threw them on the town." The authorities have always tried to remedy matters by bringing them together again.

There are two sides to the family dissensions; while Mr. Franklin always drank and abused his family, Mrs. Franklin has never been willing to keep house and care for her children. The five younger

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metic, but her schooling was interrupted by the continual moving of the family.

The people for whom Violet worked just before she went to her sister's liked her very much; she was pleasant, and "good as could be," and willing to work, but she would "run the roads nights." Some nights they did not know where she stayed. The sister for whom she worked said Violet was "wild," and had associated with several different men. Before the baby's birth Violet went to her grandmother in another town, where the younger children were also living.

This grandmother, Mrs. Pratt, is a strong-minded old woman, much chagrined at Violet's fall, and very stern with the others; she does not allow them to go out, especially to the sister with whom Violet had lived. Mrs. Pratt has lived 27 years in the dilapidated old house she owns in the outskirts of the village. The house is disorderly, but clean enough; the furniture is old, but plentiful and comfortable.

The only means of support of this household is the \$1.43 a day which Mrs. Pratt's son earns on the railroad section gang. Mrs. Pratt, whose mother was a full-blooded Indian squaw, has always been well thought of in the community. She has epileptic fits, but despite this physical weakness has great strength of character. She has always had some of her grandchildren there.

Marguerite, aged 13, and a pretty child, already refuses to mind her grandmother. She is retarded in school, being in the fourth grade only. After Violet came there she ran away from her grandmother's to the married sister with whom Violet worked. She has been there ever since, and is attending school. She says that she left because Violet quarreled with her.

*Case 20.*—Fred Bennett is a boy of 10 and looks delicate. His eyes are defective and trouble him in school, but his mother has refused to have them examined, not wishing to go to the expense. He is stupid and idle in school, and though in the third grade should be put back to the second. Fred's mother says that it is very hard for him to learn. She has considerable ambition for her children, and Fred takes music lessons. Besides his studying at home and his piano practicing, he does errands for the local storekeeper.

Fred has been a truant, in the legal meaning of the term—staying out of school, without the knowledge of his parents, to pick potatoes. But his serious delinquency consisted of passing an improper picture around in school. He was detected in this by the teacher. She whipped him and reported the matter to his father, who also whipped him.

The father belongs to a rough family. His principles are not high and he betrays an undue interest in questions of sexual im-

morality. Fred's interest in such matters is very probably due to the fact that he has heard his father and mother discuss them. Mrs. Bennett has very strict ideas about some things; she does not believe in dancing and card playing, for instance, and thinks that young people are often led astray through the allowing of such things by the church. The Bennetts are thrifty, saving every extra cent to make payments on a farm which they are buying.

### COMMUNITY F.

This is a small residential village of wealthy farm owners with its surrounding farming district, cultivated largely by tenants of the village residents. In this village there is no manufacturing of any kind. The population is almost entirely native. It has a fine library and a good grammar and high school. In connection with the latter, agricultural courses have been established which are of a high character. These agricultural courses are popular, and a large proportion of the young men of the town graduate from the high-school course. A recent graduating class numbered 14, and of these 8 were boys. Six of these 8 boys took the agricultural courses and 2 took an academic course. Three of the girls in this class have also taken some of the agricultural courses.

About three-fifths of the pupils in this high school come from the farms outside the village limits, and the rating of this school in the State regent examinations is high. This school shows great social activity; it gives plays and holds fairs; it has four basket-ball teams, one of which is a girls' team. It is, in fact, a social and moral center and needs only the cooperation of the outlying districts, in a movement toward consolidation, to make it a tremendous force for good in the life of every child in the town.

In spite of this most unusually good school, and the generally high type of the community, there was considerable serious delinquency found among the big boys of the town, as will be seen in the following cases:

*Case 1.*—Wilbur Knox's family is one of the old, respectable families of the town, but his father is a man of weak character and has exercised no control over either of his sons. His mother is a refined woman, though not a very resourceful person and in no way able to cope with the inefficiency of her husband. In fact she was a very unwise woman ever to have married him, since, even as a young man, he was not very bright. His father, Wilbur's grandfather, was a man of considerable wealth, and Wilbur's father has inherited between \$50,000 and \$100,000, all of which he has lost through his mismanagement. At one time he became a religious fanatic.

Among his various business ventures was a pool room where the rougher element of the town naturally gathered. The two boys, Wilbur and his older brother, now about 21, were in charge of the pool room much of the time. The older brother has been a pretty tough fellow and a drinker for a number of years. This fact has not helped Wilbur to keep straight. He has been seen intoxicated several times and is a confirmed cigarette smoker.

Wilbur was left alone in charge of the pool room much of the time, and patrons of the place took advantage of his years not to pay their bills. It is said, even when they did pay, that Wilbur stole the money for his own uses. As was to be expected, the business failed, and then Wilbur's father tried to run a grocery store in the same inefficient manner, and this also failed. Then Wilbur got a job as teamster, drawing produce for farmers. The boy is bright and completed the eighth grade when he was 14 and was ready to enter the high school when his father put him into the pool room.

He is not a strong looking boy, and it is unlikely that his physique will stand the strain of bad habits.

*Case 2.*—Bert Synder left school as soon as he was 16, having completed only the fifth grade; he never got on very well with the teachers, and now puts in all his time butchering and delivering meat for his father. The business is prosperous, and Bert's father is one of the influential men of the town.

Bert is a big, husky fellow. He plays on one of the village basketball teams and is a general favorite with all the boys and young men. In a game he is what is known as "scrappy," and once in a while he gets into a good fight. His father, who is something of a fighter himself when he is drunk, is proud of Bert's grit and temper and is sending the boy to the nearest city two evenings a week for boxing lessons.

Bert's first known offense was breaking into the schoolhouse, which was locked up for the noon hour, and taking money from the teacher's desk. Bert was suspected and a trap was laid for him. He was caught in a repetition of the offense and handed over to the principal, who gave him a good thrashing. This caused an uproar in his family, bringing vituperations from his mother and angry accusations from the father against the principal. This occurred when Bert was 14.

His next alleged offense was when he was 15, when in company with a boy named Baker he was accused of burglarizing a grocery store and making off with \$15. The boys were suspected and put through an informal third degree, in which the Baker boy admitted their guilt and returned his share of the \$15. Bert refused to admit his share of the act and, as the owner of the store and Bert's father were old acquaintances, the matter was dropped.

A recent form of thieving which Bert has practiced is collecting money for deliveries of meat and then charging the amount on his father's books, appropriating the cash for his own personal uses. This has caused trouble with customers, but the father, far from rebuking the boy, seems to regard such actions as "smart."

Bert smokes, and is rough and profane. His saving grace seems to be a certain irresponsible generosity, spoken of by his admirers as "kindness of heart." An example of this is the fact that he once purchased one dozen pumpkin pies from the baker and donated them to the church supper.

Bert's home is very dirty and unattractive. His father is what is known as the "bottle drinker"; a few years ago he had an attack of delirium tremens that nearly wrecked his mind as well as his business. Both father and mother are profane in their language.

*Case 3.*—The "Baker boy" above referred to, whom we may call Sam, was 15 when, with Bert, he broke into the grocery. For this offense he was brought to court and put on probation.

Sam's father was a section hand on the railroad. He was a drunken fellow, and finally was killed by a train as he lay drunk across the track. This was shortly before the robbery. Then Sam's mother and his six older brothers moved to Canada, whence they had originally come some 10 years ago. These older brothers are all rather a useless sort, given to drink and general rowdiness. Mrs. Baker, however, was a woman with a good reputation.

Sam chose to stay in the United States against the protest of his family, and after their departure he built a shack out from the village and kept house by himself. In the summer time this was easy enough and he found no difficulty in obtaining work on farms and about the village.

He seems to have been a normal boy and well liked by everybody. He was in the fifth grade at school at the age of 14 and is said to have been well behaved there. That he should have preferred to break away from his older brothers is probably to his credit.

His first burglary with Bert was followed before he was 16 by another in which he had as his accomplice a boy named Frank Shipman, who was two years older than Sam. One night the boys opened a back window in a grocery store and stole a small amount of change and some fancy groceries. Suspicion fell upon Sam at once and he was taken before the justice of the peace. He confessed and inculpated Shipman, who also pleaded guilty.

It was now the turn of the justice of the peace to break the law, so, instead of turning Sam over to the juvenile court, he gave him a good scolding and pretended to put him upon probation to himself. Of course such probation was illegal.

The Shipman boy was over 16 and the justice put him on probation to a certain county official who happens to live in F.

The next event in Sam's history was the burning of his shack one cold, winter night, after which he disappeared from town and was not heard from for over a year. Very recently news came from him as living in a town some 30 miles distant, where he is the confidential clerk and right-hand man in a store. He is spoken of as the hardest worker and best "all-round man" that the proprietor ever had in his employ.

*Case 4.*—Frank Shipman is really a more vicious boy than Sam was. He is large and good-looking, rather sulky and evil tempered, and extremely stubborn. He has been associating with immoral girls.

He left school when he was 16, from the fourth grade. He disliked school and used to refuse to learn his lessons, merely sitting in his seat and looking straight ahead. At the present time he is on probation for the offense described in the preceding case, and is supposed to stay at home at night, but, as a matter of fact, he is said to be "all over the town."

His father is an immigrant from Canada, an ineffectual man who has no control over the boy. The mother is a good woman but very ignorant. At home the boy does a certain amount of work on the farm, for they are tenant farmers, but he spends much of his time hunting and trapping.

*Case 5.*—Blanche King is the oldest daughter of a family which is considered one of the best in F. The Kings live in a fine house and have many friends. When Blanche was 17 she ran away from home with a man named Babcock, the son of a degenerate pioneer family. They passed the summer together in an old farmhouse in an adjoining town. Occasionally they came to F to spend the day with Blanche's family, but were not well received, though not actually refused admittance. In the late autumn they were married, as a result, it is said, of threatened legal action. Blanche's behavior previous to this affair was frequently extraordinary. It is very likely that she is not normal mentally.

Blanche has a younger sister who seems to be following in her footsteps. She has refused to attend high school in F, and has gone to the city, where she works as a domestic and attends the city high school. It is not known that her behavior in the city is bad, but the fact that when at home she was exceedingly bold and forward in her conduct with boys leads to the supposition that she behaves similarly now.

The discipline of the home is of the very worst description. The parents issue strict orders to the girls and then do not follow them



up, either with insistence upon obedience or with punishment for disobedience. The father is never firm enough with them.

*Cases 6 and 7.*—Donald and Henry Smith are boys of 13 and 11, respectively, who have given trouble at the district school by their language and their behavior toward certain girls.

The Smith family is of low grade, the father is a drunken tenant farmer of undoubtedly low mentality and the mother is slovenly and vixenish. The father is lazy and the boys are said to do much of the farm work which he might better do. There are four smaller children. They live in a tumble-down house 5 miles from the village in a district which is isolated and unprogressive. They have no horse, and the boys almost never leave their immediate neighborhood. Neighbors say that they are feeble-minded, but this is probably not so. They are, however, undersized and undernourished and only as dull as they might be expected to be in such a deadening environment.

The school which they attend is one of the worst types of district schools. Teachers never stay longer than a year, and one year the teacher who came in September left at Christmas.

It was last year that these particular boys began to get into trouble, though for years past the children of this neighborhood seem to have been guilty of sex improprieties. Recently it has become necessary for the teacher to remain at the schoolhouse during the noon hour in order to stop such behavior, at least within the building.

*Case 8.*—One of the girls annoyed by these boys is Lucy Howard. It is the opinion of the teacher, however, that Lucy is even more guilty than the boys and that she was in part responsible for the trouble. She is a very peculiar child and in her peculiarities is said to resemble her mother. Mrs. Howard is the trouble maker of this little community.

It was thought best to send Lucy home from school a half hour early every day that she might not be annoyed by Donald and Henry. Lucy, however, did not employ this extra half hour of leisure to go home, but played along the way until the boys caught up with her. Lucy's tactics for some time have been first to encourage the boys and then to run with complaints to her teacher and to her parents. Mrs. Howard sided with Lucy and has kept the school authorities in a turmoil. There has even been some talk of expelling the boys from the school. Perhaps the worst thing about Lucy's behavior is that she has succeeded in involving other more innocent little girls.

#### COMMUNITY G.

This is a village of great natural beauty, but the absolute lack of any attempt at uniformity or beauty of architecture gives the town a rather scraggly appearance. The only industrial establishments

are a small factory, a feed mill, and two blacksmith shops. Several men go daily to work in the large town near by. A railroad affords excellent transportation facilities. Several milk wagons also run through to take milk to the creamery about 6 miles from G.

Conditions are favorable to successful farming, but many of the farmers appeared to spend much of their time on the roads and in the saloons of G. It is in fact the farmers who largely support three hotels. Most of them own their farms and make just a fair living. G offers little in the way of occupation, and the young people do not stay there.

The village has three hotels running full tilt. Two of these may properly be called such; the third is in fact merely a saloon. This "hotel" does not pretend to furnish meals or lodging but runs a bar, and the proprietor is not at all particular about those to whom he sells.

These hotels are the recreation centers of the village. The women and some of the farmers gather in the stores, but most of the men go to the hotels. One hotel has a billiard table in a front room and card tables in the barroom. Each bar has its evening habitués.

An occasional public dance is held in the Masonic Hall, and some select private dances. A machine show gave a week's performances the past winter. Those who can afford it go to town to the theaters and movies. The moral standard of the community is apparently low, and there are few public-spirited citizens.

One of the churches, however, has felt a great impetus under a new minister. Where he found 25 or 30 attending church, there are now 80 or 90. His chief energy is given to arousing interest in the Sunday school, which has now over 100 members. The other church under a nonresident minister is not so active.

The G school has for principal a man generally admitted to be an incapable teacher and an undesirable citizen, who drinks, and is accused of familiarities with the school girls. It is acknowledged that a place on the school board can be obtained by anyone who will take the position, which no one wants. Sadie Brown, the woman member, swears and is illiterate. The board chooses the teachers without consulting the district superintendent, and two out of four are obviously very poor. Only five or six high-school pupils still attend the school. The others have left to go to town or to go to work.

The school itself is an ugly, gloomy, neglected building. The light in the two lower rooms comes from three high windows; the children can not see out, and in the intermediate room also the light is insufficient. The toilets are defaced with obscene writings. Some parents have caused trouble about buying textbooks, and their children have been kept out of school.

About 50 children are enrolled, but the dissatisfaction with the teachers has made the attendance record poor. Eight pupils are a year or so retarded, but none are apparently subnormal mentally. The teacher in the primary room likes the children, but is not willing to expend time or energy on them. The teacher in the intermediate room is worried by the principal's rudeness and brutality, which she can not combat. She once called him in to correct some boys, and he knocked his own son down three times before the whole school and told her that a teacher could not be friendly with pupils but must treat them roughly.

At the beginning of the year the high-school pupils started a club and gave several parties in the schoolhouse, but the janitor objected to the extra work and resigned. The parents realize just what a bad condition the school is in, but they do nothing. It is felt that influential connections behind the principal and his wife protect him from discharge.

With such conditions in the town and in the school it is not surprising that, of the nine cases studied, seven are cases of sexual immorality, or bordering on it.

*Cases 1, 2, 3, and 4.*—In the G school reports of improper talk and conduct among the children came from so many quarters that several of the more thoughtful mothers of the town decided to take action. Four children—two girls and two boys—all of the primary grade, were involved. These children were Estelle Freeland, aged 10; Millie Prescott, 9; Floyd Reed, 11; and Roy Pettibone, 10.

The impropriety consisted of unclean notes and acts of sex perversion. The teacher discovered some part of the trouble, and some portion of it was found out by the minister's wife. The teacher felt unable to handle the situation, but the minister's wife went to Mrs. Prescott and Mrs. Reed and urged them to take the matter up. Then Mrs. Prescott went to several of the school trustees and made an effort to have some one appointed to remain with the children during the noon hour, but nothing further was done, except that the parents talked to their children. This was less effective than it might have been, for the reason that Miss Paine, the guardian of the ringleader, Estelle, was never informed of the trouble.

Estelle is the particularly bright and shining light of the school. She fairly sparkles with life and energy; she has dimples and bold gray eyes, short brown curls, and the movements of a saucy bird, and she "bosses" all the other children.

Estelle came from a bad family. Her father drank so heavily that her mother left him, taking Estelle with her. Later the father, who was then living with another woman, came and got her. Afterwards he was locked up for intoxication, and Estelle was taken away. The little girl herself told everything except the fact that her

mother was living with another man. Her account of things in the town where she used to live shows that she was very young, she must have seen and understood the degrading.

Miss Paine took Estelle through a children's society, knew nothing of her parentage, and provides an excellent home for her. Though a homely old maid, she is bright and attractive, a capable, executive woman possessed of great independence and strength of character. She owns a large farm about a mile from the village and lets out the land, but takes care of her three cows and her chickens herself.

Miss Paine says Estelle has always minded well, and she helps around the house. She is fond of playing and reading. It would seem an ideal home for a dependent child, but there is one flaw. Miss Paine is evidently devotedly fond of Estelle, but does not know how to manage her, and Estelle is clever enough to deceive her. Miss Paine is at a loss about the correct method of approaching Estelle in this matter. She "scarcely knows how to make her understand."

Millie Prescott is Estelle's chum, and is a bold, forward child. Her mother died when she was born.

When Millie was 3 years old she went to live with an excellent woman in a neighboring town for a short time. About five years ago Mr. Prescott, a well-to-do farmer, married again, a fine, intelligent woman, who had been a school-teacher.

They lived on a beautiful farm up among the hills, about 2 miles from the village. The house and buildings have many modern improvements. The house is well kept and well furnished.

The stepmother has tried to instruct Millie about sex matters and to win her confidence. The school environment, however, and the influence of the other children is stronger than anything else at this age. When she heard of Millie's share in the misconduct and charged her with it, Millie cried and denied it for half an hour, but finally confessed. Her mother told Mr. Prescott, who, though usually slack in discipline, beat Millie severely.

Mrs. Pettibone took Roy's part in the trouble more serenely; she thought it something of a joke and did not believe it amounted to anything.

Mr. Pettibone drinks rather heavily. He earns \$12 a week as engineer in the water company; but they live somewhat beyond this small income. They own a small house one-half mile out of the village, plain enough outside, but unusually well furnished.

Mrs. Pettibone is a handsome woman with a lively, youthful manner, and without a very good reputation. She has five children; the two older girls work, one as bookkeeper and one as helper in a store in a neighboring town. Her son, 26 years old, works on the railroad.

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A younger daughter expressed the opinion that Roy was at the bottom of the school, because he is under such bad influences.

Another says that one day when he came home from school, he scribbled with childish frankness some very indecent comments on the school children in which they wanted him to take part. Another told him that this was wrong; that he must not enter into such things or he would be sent away to a reform school. She said she would not show before him how amused she was. And she thought it was a good plan to frighten him once, but she supposed that it had all passed over, since nothing more was said about it.

She apparently does not pay much attention to Roy. He never comes home from school until suppertime, uses bad language, and hangs around streets. People consider him a "bad" boy. He is 10 years old and in the third grade. He gets his lessons fairly well, and after some sharp discipline by the teacher he has behaved. He is a tall, thin boy with shifty, knowing eyes and a weak face. He does not like reading, but likes his other studies.

Floyd Reed was apparently drawn in by the other children. The Reeds live in a beautiful farmhouse pleasantly situated at the foot of the hills about a mile from the village. Mr. Reed hires no help, but is a prosperous, self-sufficient farmer. The house is very well furnished and neatly kept. Mrs. Reed is a nice-looking, intelligent woman of 40 and has three children—Rosalie, aged 15; Floyd, aged 11; and a little boy. She does a great deal of church work, and appreciates her responsibility in bringing up the children. In talking about her daughter, tears came into her eyes as she considered the possibility that she might go wrong.

When she heard about the trouble in the school last year she took the matter in hand at once and induced Floyd to own up to his part of it. Then she told him that they were going to arrest him and send him away; that this would be a terrible disgrace, and that what he did was very wrong. She believes that so far as he was concerned the misdoing stopped there; he was so frightened. She thinks that the trouble was greatly exaggerated.

Floyd is an overgrown boy of 11, in the fourth grade. He has moved into the second room, and the teacher has had no trouble with him, though his deportment is not very good. He does not like school, but wants to do farm work. Last summer he did all the raking alone and was very proud of it. He is fond of his father, who can make the children mind without being cross to them.

Floyd is rather stupid and a great sleepyhead. His parents have had "to keep at him" to get him to read during the long

ter evenings, but he has succeeded in reading three or four books winter.

*Case 5.*—Robert Paul, aged 11, son of the school principal, has the trouble in the school all the year. He annoyed the girls who near him, and their mothers complained, so the teacher gave him a special seat. He was also involved in the indecent note writing. This teacher was dismissed at the instigation of Mr. Paul, the school principal, whose brutality to Robert has been debated. The present teacher considers Robert decidedly incorrigible—the worst boy in school, “always picking at the other children.” The teacher suggested that abuse at home might account for his acting so badly. Robert is considered brainless and silly; he has a strangely pale complexion, and watchful, nervous eyes.

*Case 6.*—Constance Davis, aged 15, “hangs around” the stores near the station. Everyone feels that she is a doubtful associate for other girls. She is willing to associate with the most defective and disreputable.

Her present home and guardian are good, but she comes of bad families on both sides. Her father drinks and gives nothing toward her support; her mother left him and is reported to be the mistress of a resort in a neighboring city. She helps clothe Constance, who has lived with her aunt and uncle in this village for seven or eight years. Constance's aunt is very good and kind. The child wishes to be a stenographer; she does not like the idea of teaching. The aunt desires Constance to have a profession, and would send her to a neighboring town to school, but the girl would have to wait for the bus from 4 to 6, and she thinks “that girls get wild hanging around in town all the time.” She will not allow her to go out at night. From all this it appears that she understands the tendencies which the child has shown.

Constance has not a bit of girlishness about her—no buoyancy or vivacity or joy, and her worldly, experienced expression ill accords with her 15 years. Her ambition is to go to the city and become a stenographer. Meanwhile her environment offers her absolutely nothing to fulfill the desire of youth for pleasure except her empty distractions.

*Case 7.*—Everyone says: “It is too bad something can't be done with Esther Todd; she'd be all right if it weren't for her mother.” Tom Todd, her father, looks like a stupid little man and he never says much. He has always worked in the woods, until two years ago when he began working as a hired man. He is generally considered weak mentally, but his employer says he is up to the average. Mrs. Todd admits that her three younger children belong to another man, who visits her regularly and contributes to her support. Until he associated with her he was a respectable man of

good family—a widower with two grown-up daughters. At first Mr. Todd furiously threatened to shoot him, but he has since become reconciled.

Mrs. Todd has intelligence and a certain sort of strength of character, and has no fear of her neighbor's opinion, nor any feeling that she is a social outcast. She seems perfectly sure of her position and contented with it.

There are seven children: A boy, aged 21; Esther, aged 18; a boy, aged 12; another boy, aged 9; and three younger children, aged 7, 3, and 11 months. Mrs. Todd is a big, slatternly woman, but she keeps the children quite clean, though the four rooms they live in are dirty and in disorder.

Esther has little to do with the men in her own village, though she goes often to the town for a few days. Her conduct there has injured her good name in the village. However, it is generally attributed to her mother's influence.

She is a strikingly handsome girl, dark to swarthinness, with lovely, expressive eyes, under heavy, black brows. She dresses well, but her hair is always untidy. She defends herself from unfriendly people by a proud, sullen, hard insolence, but is shy and pleasant when she feels sure that one is not intruding, and has enough independence and intelligence fiercely to resent interference.

Esther left school in October, when she was in the first year high school. The principal said she was the brightest girl he had ever taught, and urged her to continue school, but she said: "What's the use; I'd still be a Todd." She did not care for studying, but studied hard, sometimes until 1 o'clock in the morning, to get her lessons. She worked in a tobacco factory one winter and she has worked in service. She told the visitor that she had secured a position in a mill in a near-by town.

*Case 8.*—Lorene Brown is a foundling, adopted when 2 years old by an unmarried woman of middle age, who has boarded children for many years. Lorene was born at the county house, of an unmarried woman, who later married—though not the child's father. Lorene's father used to visit her, but he also married and comes no more.

Lorene's guardian seems quite unfit to care for children. Her house is filthy and the children have always been allowed to go around poorly clothed. Her character also is not above suspicion. Yet the children appear well mannered and bright—all except Lorene. This woman is shrewd, but unintelligent and unattractive. She has been on the school board for two years, but she worked for the position and obtained it only because the men are unwilling to serve.

Lorene has apparently been spoiled. She is about 17, and would be rather pretty were it not for her furtive expression. Her face

is low-browed, common, unintelligent. She is untidy in her dress, and always looks frowsy; is lazy, will not help around the house, and wishes her adopted mother to do everything for her. She left school as soon as the law permitted and took out working papers, but did not work except at home. She did not care for school or studying.

Lorene has been involved in several dishonest affairs; for instance, she collected money for subscriptions to magazines and the magazines never came. One neighbor asked Lorene several times for the money, which she promised to bring back, but she never did. A neighbor says that Lorene stole money from her a couple of years ago. Lorene wept and begged the neighbor not to tell her mother, and she decided she would do nothing about the matter. Last summer Lorene collected money to buy a present for the minister's baby; but her mother went around and gave it back, and whether Lorene's intentions were dishonest or not is not known. Lorene lives in another village now and has a position at housework. She is fond of parties and socials, and it was because there were no young people and "nothing going on" in her own village that she left it.

*Case 9.*—The Morton family has been under the oversight of two children's agencies for a long time. The father drank and abused his wife and children and finally deserted them. Since then the whole family has been dependent upon the town. Mr. Morton looks like a perfect brute. He has little eyes, a low brow, and a heavy jaw. Several persons have expressed the opinion that he is insane, at least when drunk. But he is considered a good worker on a farm. The family got help from the town several times when he went away or was drinking, and he was warned that he must support them. Finally he went to another town to work, from which place he would come home drunk and penniless Saturday nights. Mrs. Morton had him arrested, and he was put on probation to pay \$5 a week to his wife and not to drink. In about two weeks he disappeared and has not been seen since.

Mrs. Morton receives from the town \$5 a week and coal and groceries, but people have become indignant at her demands and poor management. She complains of her hard lot continually and shifts her responsibilities to the relief societies and the town, but she keeps the house and the children neat and clean and has some claims to education and refinement.

Mrs. Morton has no control over the children; she nags and frets at them all the time, but admits that she can not manage them. Neighbors say that she swears at them terribly. Rose and Ralph, aged 6 and 5, follow the lead of Elma, aged 8, who is quite beyond control.

Elma does not want to work and has a better time anywhere else than at home. She longs to go and live with some one else and just



wants to play. She does not come home from school for dinner, though her mother gives her nothing to eat at school. At night she does not come home until 7 or 8 o'clock, and once she stayed away all night, which worried and angered Mrs. Morton. Lucy Maitland, her chum, is a pretty girl, already "crazy after the boys," and Elma is at her house a great deal. Mr. Maitland says that he tries to send Elma home, but she will not go. She uses bad language sometimes and has heard and knows all sorts of indecencies.

Elma has had fits of hysterics at school because she could not have her own way—fits when she seemed almost insane. She stayed in at recess all winter because she would not read a sentence as the teacher told her. Finally she did read it properly, because in the spring she wished to go out at recess. She has just been promoted into the third grade, for she is bright, but instead of being pleased she resents it, because she hates to study.

People consider her a bold, disagreeable child. Both her mother and the neighbors believe that she is following the footsteps of her older sister, who became incorrigible and had to be sent to an institution.

### COMMUNITY H.

This is a village of about 1,200 inhabitants, situated in an unwooded, level, fertile farming country. Good roads and a railroad connect it easily with the outer world. In the country about much fruit is grown, and the village supports a cannery, a basket factory, and some other smaller industries. There is no child labor in the cannery, but picking fruit for it is a common form of work for the poorer children of the community.

The fruit industry has drawn to the neighborhood a number of Italians and Poles, and at certain seasons of the year there will be found perhaps 250 foreigners working in the cannery and the smaller enterprises. These foreigners for the most part live in a colony of rough little shacks, crowded and insanitary.

The permanent population of the village, while largely native born of native parentage, includes a considerable percentage of persons of German birth and descent.

In this village the truancy problem was in the foreground, particularly in the village school. This school, already crowded with village children, absorbed from the outlying districts half as many more pupils, with the result that the village schoolhouse was badly overcrowded. These additional pupils were welcomed, however, by the village board because they paid tuition of from \$10 to \$20 each, depending upon the grade in which they were entered.

The truants from this school were largely the children of Poles and Italians. Their parents were workers in the local cannery

were only too glad to have the children stay at home and cook, clean and take care of the babies. Most of the children hated it, however, the boys especially being outspoken in their desire to go to school.

Another reason which worked to keep these children out of school was the feeling in the village that they were not suitable associates for the village children. This feeling and the crowded condition of the school led, unfortunately, to a laxity in enforcement of attendance.

At the time of the present investigation 10 or 12 children of school age not attending school were found in the colony whom the village school board were deliberately not seeing. Efforts have been made in the past to provide schooling for these children. A few years ago the village school board started a special school for foreign children in the basement of the schoolhouse. This school was not well lived, however, and the next year the board devised a new one. A room in an abandoned pickle factory was fitted up with old school furniture, and a somewhat ignorant Polish girl was engaged as teacher. One of the children said about this experience: "Gee, I didn't like to go to that school; we didn't learn much; we just had a good time."

This, too, was given up by the school board and the foreign children were allowed to go their own way, and it was thus that the investigator found them.

It must be admitted that the problem of the cannery workers is a difficult one for the rural school boards to solve. These alien families come and go. A great part of the responsibility for the situation lies upon the cannery proprietors, who import these foreign laborers from the cities and permit them to live in any way they like, as long as they can.

The village high school in H provides a curriculum which is old-fashioned and impractical. It offers no vocational courses nor manual training, and boys are not attracted. The graduating class of the past year included only 2 boys.

The village, together with the rest of the township in which it is situated, supports nine churches for a population of about 5,000 people. Eight of the churches are stationary or declining in membership, and take no active part in the social life of the place. The remaining church, with the more progressive and intelligent element of the village population in its membership, and an intelligent and active minister, is growing in numbers, and doing some real social work. In particular, they have organized a system of boys' and girls' clubs and other activities deliberately aimed at attracting and holding the youth of the village.

The minister of the largest and richest church in the township has taken a strong stand for license and practically led the forces which

defeated the no-license movement in this town. This church, supporting as it openly does the liquor interests, can hardly be an uplifting influence in the community.

This village has a well-organized troop of Boy Scouts, but they are socially exclusive. The neighborhood affords no natural amusements for young people. There are no streams, no rivers, no brooks, no skating, no hills for sliding, no woods, no fishing, no swimming—as the boys say “no nothin’.” Neither are there many forms of organized sport, basket-ball being about the only one in the town. There is no baseball field even in connection with the high school, and a public-spirited woman who is trying to get the citizens interested in a public playground is meeting with much opposition.

The one recreation center is a public amusement hall, constantly open for roller skating, pool, and bowling. Next door is a saloon. This amusement hall has a bad reputation. Questionable characters come from a neighboring city to perform as roller-skating artists; sensational movies are to be seen three times a week. Various petty gambling devices are a constant attraction to the boys. There are besides 10 saloons in the township. Every year is held a “firemen’s muster,” which is an occasion for much drinking and immorality. Fourteen cases of bad conduct were found in and around this village.

*Case 1.*—The family of Dugald Roberts moved into H from Canada. Dugald’s father was tubercular—a carpenter by trade, but not being strong he went to work in a fruit-drying establishment. In about three months he died, leaving his wife with two small children younger than Dugald. Even before the father’s death Dugald’s mother had worked in the cannery, but since she earned only \$5.50 a week she could not keep the family together. Dugald made it additionally difficult for her by his incorrigible behavior. After his father’s death his mother seemed to lose control of him completely. In order to help in the family support, he went to work in the bowling alley, setting up ninepins. His working hours were variable, usually from about 4 o’clock in the afternoon until midnight. He earned 5 cents a game, and since his earnings were variable he used much of his money for cigarettes and petty gambling without his mother’s being able to control the situation. This work was illegal, but no officer or private citizen took any steps to correct the situation.

Under these influences Dugald, though a bright boy, became known as troublesome at school, unruly and irritable at home, an excessive cigarette smoker, and a bad influence upon other boys.

Finally Dugald’s mother appealed to the children’s agency in the near-by city, which aided her to break up the family. The two younger children were placed with relatives in a near-by town, and Dugald was placed with his paternal grandparents in still another

ce. But, as far as Dugald was concerned, the result was far from satisfactory. He had become by this time so violent and headstrong, though only 13 years old, that he refused to obey his grandparents and ran away from them within a week.

His mother has since remarried and has taken back her two younger children. She would be willing to take Dugald also, but her whereabouts is still unknown.

*Case 2.*—Mary Barry seems to have shown sexual precocity at the age of 12. When she was 5 she was adopted by the Barrys from an orphan asylum and lived with them for seven years. She was a quiet and affectionate child, intelligent and fond of books, and dearly loved by Mrs. Barry, who is a nice, motherly woman well on her way to 60.

In whatever way Mary may have got a bad start she rapidly became incorrigible. She had improper relations with boys at school and even followed the men at work on the roads. When rebuked at home for such conduct she was repentant and always promised her mother that she would try to do better, but she never did. Finally at the age of 12 she was expelled from the school, where she was in the sixth grade, and where she was in all other respects a well-behaved child.

When the Barrys took her to the "shelter" of a children's society, there she was held for three weeks and finally returned by the juvenile court to her own mother who was living in another place. There she lived for over two years—until she was nearly 15. Then her mother petitioned the court, alleging that Mary was an incorrigible child. She was again held in the shelter for a month and finally committed to an institution for the feeble-minded. Mary's character is still said to display the dual aspect of willfulness where this one trait is concerned on the one hand, and, on the other, intelligence, repentance, and affection.

*Case 3.*—Hattie Lawrence is not a very attractive girl. Her features are coarse and her manner vulgar. She has two married sisters, each older than herself, whom she resembles. Hattie's mother had a questionable reputation and her father was worthless and drunken. Her mother died when Hattie was 12 and the father deserted immediately, leaving the little girl to live alternately with each of her two married sisters. They were, however, mere girls of 17 and 18 and were absolutely lacking in control over the child or in any proper understanding of how to care for a child. When Hattie quarreled with one sister she would go to live for a few months with the other and then, for a similar reason, would come back to the first sister.

She has a brother, about 20 years old, who left home at an early age and enlisted in the Navy. He is now in Elmira, sent by a

Federal court for sex offenses. One thing he did was to decent letters to Hattie, which were held up by the authorities.

In school Hattie was insolent and irregular in attendance. She was normally bright, however, and when she was expelled at the age of 13 for her incorrigible behavior, she was in the seventh grade of the Union School.

Two or three years ago Hattie and a young man were arrested on a charge of improper conduct; they had spent the greater part of a night in an abandoned building. The juvenile court, on the basis of a physical examination, took Hattie away from her home. She was placed with an excellent family in the city. She remained with this family only a short time, however, because she was gossiped by her conduct with street-car employees. After leaving the family the court placed her in a series of homes as a servant. A probation officer reports that Hattie is now behaving very well.

The young man arrested with her was locked up in the "cooler" for several hours and then discharged. That night he celebrated his escape from the clutches of the law by getting drunk at the village saloon, when he boasted that it cost him \$80 to get out of the scrape."

*Case 4.*—Margaret Reed's mother was a good woman, but died when Margaret was only 12, and after that the girl ran the house all the time and was very irregular in her attendance at school. Margaret's father is mentally subnormal, though able to support the family living as a baggage and express delivery man.

Margaret is a pretty girl, who is considered dull at school. She was also deaf, but an operation, later performed for adenoid and defective tonsils, greatly improved her hearing and would have helped her in school if she could have had the operation earlier.

The home was kept in a very dirty condition, for the unminded father left everything to Margaret. Right across the street is the bowling alley and roller skating joint, which booms with excitement late into the night. This was naturally an enticement to Margaret. The culminating incident of her unrestrained behavior was a fireman's picnic and ball when she was 15. She went to the ball and, later in the evening, went for an automobile ride with a man whose name she said she did not know. On their return in the early morning their machine met with an accident, which was Margaret's misadventure known. This resulted in an appeal to the children's society, which took Margaret away from her father. Through the juvenile court, placed her in an excellent family in the city.

The probation officer in charge of the case reports that Margaret wonderfully changed under the influence of her new environment, her new friends, and that she is becoming a well-behaved and active young woman.

*Case 5.*—Emily Ransom is a feeble-minded girl of 16, small and undernourished, with vacant, dull eyes which look out from sunken cheeks. Her father, her sister, and two brothers are below normal mentally. Her mother is normal and is largely the support of the family.

Five years ago this family moved into New York from another town and have since lived in five towns. They have been here for only two years and have already worn out their welcome. It was in another town, when Emily was 14, that she had her first unfortunate experience.

Her father was then, as he is now, a tenant farmer. In their town they boarded a boy of 16 who was also an employee upon the farm. One day the older members of the family went to town, leaving this boy and girl together in the house, and the boy took advantage of the situation.

Perhaps no one would ever have known about it if the boy had not told another employee, who in turn informed Mrs. Ransom. The boy was arrested and taken before a justice of the peace who, according to the mother, fined the boy about \$10. Emily seems to have been so young, and of such low mentality that she has never understood the meaning of what happened.

Emily has never passed out of the second grade in school. There has been some talk of expelling her from the Union School because the health officer testifies that she has a sexual disease. She also has a chronic nasal discharge and is tongue-tied. In the summer time Emily picks berries with her mother. They are paid at the rate of 42 cents a basket, and some days Emily has earned as much as 42 cents. Her mother is very proud of this record. The mother can earn about 80 cents a day at this rate of pay. This child has no proper care, no discipline, no restraints, nor restraint. Her father and uncle are both drinkers, and are subnormal. The uncle is said to be very ugly. The father's opinion of his daughter's affairs was: "She'll git married pretty soon, and then she'll be all right."

Mrs. Ransom is this man's second wife. The children by his first marriage, who are not at home now, are said to be dull. Emily's older brother is tongue-tied and badly retarded in school.

The minister of the church which they had been attending stated that all he knew about the family was that they were "very poor." This represents the interest that the community takes in them. They are generally shunned, and have no neighborly relations with any-

one. The mother works out every day and, when the children are not at school, they sit about the dooryard listlessly.

*Case 6.*—Robert Field was 13 when he broke into the hardware store and stole a case full of jackknives. His guilt was suspected, his clothing searched, the knives found, and the boy well thrashed by his father. This depredation was committed without accomplices, the entrance to the store being effected by forcing open a rear window.

Since then Rob has not been caught in any delinquency except that he conspired with and encouraged a boy who stole a bicycle, as will be seen in the next record. Rob, however, is a trouble maker. He is always getting other boys into fights, and he is very sly about not being involved himself. He is a big, strong boy, but always "played sick" in school. He claims to have "heart trouble," "kidney trouble," and "stomach trouble." His mother, who is a suspicious character, has always supported him in these lies, and his attendance at school was consequently very irregular. He never got beyond the fifth grade.

Rob's father died of tuberculosis two years ago and Rob has an older brother who seems to have contracted the disease also. The father was a wholly worthless drunkard and ne'er-do-well. After her husband's death Mrs. Field renewed her connection with the church to which she had formerly belonged, but, in spite of this profession of piety, she has hardly kept within the pale of respectability.

The family is now supported by the earnings of the two boys, Rob earning \$3.50 a week as a printer's devil and the older boy contributing \$7 by working in a basket factory. Rob also earns about 25 cents an evening setting up pins in the bowling alley. This money he "blows in" for cigarettes and petty gambling.

*Case 7.*—Carl Kaiser was 15 when he, with Rob Field of the previous record, took a bicycle trip to a near-by town. When he came back he left his old wheel, which was of little value, and rode home on a nice new one which he found leaning against the wall near his own. When he was later questioned as to his motives he said that he made a mistake. He also said that Rob told him to take the better wheel. This latter statement accords with Rob's usual influence upon other boys.

The owner of the stolen wheel quickly traced his property and took it home a few days later. He did not prefer a charge against Carl, but the school principal took the boy before the justice of the peace. This justice made no court record, for to do so would have violated the law of 1911 which requires a justice to transfer children under 16 to the juvenile court; he did, however, give Carl an in-

formal hearing and then put the boy upon probation to himself. This action was a violation of the law in spirit, if not in fact.

Carl also stole a flash light from a jewelry store when the proprietor momentarily turned his back. He was detected in this theft and forced to return the property. Besides, he stole boxes of fancy cookies from the counter of the grocery store. He was again detected and again he pleaded that Rob Field told him to take the cookies. No action was taken about this. In fact the grocer stated that he "never made trouble in such matters" because if he did, he would lose the trade of all the friends of the family and, in the end, lose more than he would gain by such prosecutions.

Carl is called a good worker. During the summer he earned over \$60 working in the basket factory at \$8 a week, and gave his money to his father. This factory work kept him out of school three weeks in the fall, but the school authorities took no action, and he finally entered school of his own accord. He is only in the fourth grade, a retardation due in part to the fact that he has always been very irregular in attendance.

For amusement Carl builds chicken coops in the back yard. He must do something after school, so he drives hundreds of pounds of nails into hundreds of feet of lathing and produces more chicken coops than any normal family could use in a hundred years. Such tastes as these might well be guided by a manual-training teacher in the Union School, but no manual training is given.

Carl is perhaps not normal mentally. He has never made any progress in school; he has an impediment in his speech; and, though tall and strong, completely lacks animation and facial expression.

His father says that Carl is "dull," but the father himself is very stupid. He is a hard drinker and works irregularly as a day laborer. His moral standards are certainly low. He told the investigator that he did not blame Carl for stealing the wheel because the boy had had three wheels stolen from him, a statement which was not only unethical but also untrue.

It is the mother who has kept the family together. She works out by the day and in the canning season earns \$9 a week. An older brother, now 17, works regularly and has never given trouble. Two older sisters are well spoken of.

They are old residents of the town, having previously lived on a farm, but a few years ago they moved into the village in order that the older children might work in the basket factory.

Their present home is in the very poorest part of the village where the boy is brought into association with a half dozen families noted for their drunkenness and filth and sex irregularities. Carl has now



been taken in hand by the one active church of the village, has been induced to join the boys' basket-ball team, which plays in a vacant factory hired by the church, and he is showing improvement.

*Case 8.*—Frank Harris is a boy of 13 who lives under the best influences and yet he steals. He is rather a timid little chap who spends all his spare time quietly at home reading. He has a passion for "history books" and has read everything of the sort which he can obtain. In school he is considered an unusually bright and well-behaved boy with the exception that he does noticeably poor work in arithmetic.

Frank's father and mother both work in the basket factory, earning \$12 and \$7 a week. They are industrious, conscientious people of fine reputation. Frank has a younger brother and sister, about 9 and 10 years old, for whom he cares during the middle of the day when his mother is in the factory. He also has a certain amount of housework to do and does not play about the streets with other boys, almost his only recreation being to go to the movies once a week. During the berry season he picks berries, as do most of the children of the town, and earns about \$2 a week for five or six weeks. This money he spends for his clothes.

There is, perhaps, on the part of the parents a too marked thrift. They are paying off a mortgage on the neat little cottage in which they live, and Frank certainly has no money to spend for anything except necessities. It may be for this reason that he was tempted to steal money from the teacher's desk at school. He was seen hanging about the desk during the noon hour and the money was found in his pockets later in the day. This was reported to his father, who is said to have given him an outrageous beating of which he bore the marks for many weeks.

Frank again stole money from a man who hired him to do an errand which included the making of a small payment. Frank paid only part of the money and kept the remainder. He afterwards maintained that he was not given as much money as his employer claimed. This employer made no complaint in the matter.

A third offense of Frank's was to steal a fountain pen from a school desk. He was alone in the room when the pen disappeared. When taxed with this act he denied it, but later the pen was found lying conspicuously on the steps. Frank was not seen to place the pen on the steps, nor to take the pen from the desk, but the circumstantial evidence was strong against him.

Another act of this boy's was to steal a book from the Sunday school library. The book was missed by the minister, who had charge of this library, and afterwards seen by him in the Harris home.

None of these thefts of Frank's are known to the public, with the exception of the money theft from the teacher's desk. Nor have his parents been told of the other things he has taken.

Before leaving the town of H we must mention three cases of which a children's society has a very brief record but for whom no other material is available because of the fact that the boys and their families are now unknown in this community.

*Case 9.*—Gregory Potocki was 14 when, at the instigation of his parents, he stole a pail of paint from a hardware store. He was arrested and locked up in jail in H. The children's agent procured the boy's release from jail and persuaded the authorities to allow the boy to leave town with his parents who were about to return to the city at the close of the canning season.

*Cases 10 and 11.*—Even less information is available for the two following boys, concerning whom the children's society record states that Jacob Moses and Frank Rocco were found in a barn on the outskirts of the city with a stolen bicycle. They had ridden to the city from the town of H, where their parents were workers in the cannery. The boys were brought to the children's shelter, examined, and then sent back to their homes in H. These families are not now known in this town.

*Cases 12 and 13.*—Out of the village in what is considered the "tough end of town" lives a 15-year-old boy named John. He swears like a trooper, but he comes naturally by this gift, since both his grandmother and step-grandfather, with whom he lives, are notoriously profane and vulgar. Of course he smokes cigarettes. John's father ran away when John was a baby, and his mother soon died, and he and his older sister were brought up by the grandmother who treats him kindly enough in her rough, ignorant way.

John is a healthy, red-cheeked boy with a responsive smile. He has, moreover, a sturdy, self-respecting manner and his whole personality belies any innate depravity, yet his home training is so vicious that he is known as the "meanest boy in the village." Recently he picked up a girl his own size and threw her into a deep and muddy ditch. His explanation was that he was "mad at her because she said things." This was probably true, since the village children taunt John concerning the questionable character of his mother and sister.

His sister, who is 19, recently came home from the city, where she worked for four years, and gave birth to a child. The fatherhood of this child was fixed upon a young Pole, and though a marriage followed, the girl nevertheless remains at home and is not living with her husband.

The step-grandfather is a shiftless farmer and a heavy drinker. They move from one farm to another about once in three years and

were ejected from their last farm because of dishonest dealing in connection with running the farm on shares.

John is a great trouble about the schoolhouse; he annoys the girls by saying indecent things to them. The teacher, a man, has whipped John severely with a rubber hose for these offenses but it does not seem to make very much impression upon him. The grandparents always take the boy's side in these matters and their influence is worse than nothing. They even sent for the children's agent and attempted to have the teacher prosecuted for whipping John in an improper manner, but the agent sustained the teacher. The teacher, who is a man of over 30 years of age and of strong character and intelligence, says that John has "spells" of misbehaving and that for two or three weeks will be the very best boy in school.

Though this family lives on a 100-acre farm their home is within a hundred feet of a corner saloon. John is kept very closely at home for farm work, but naturally he hangs about the saloon a great deal since it is so near and fills a boy's natural craving for excitement. He has been kept at home so much and has been made so peculiarly in association with his depraved grandparents that he is not like other boys. He does not know how to play ball, and when other boys laugh at him he "gets mad" and starts a fight. Then some one makes a slighting remark about his family, then there is a fight, a sulky session in school and a conflict with the teacher, then the rubber hose.

The grandparents are, it happens, in conflict with the church, due to some quarrel of bygone years. Therefore, John picks up the midweek prayer meetings by yelling like a red Indian outside the open church windows. Protests made by the church to his grandparents elicit only angry vituperation.

John associates somewhat with a boy named Fleck, who is 17 years old. Fleck's influence has probably been bad, at least in respect to John's relations with the girls. Fleck's father is physically deformed and probably subnormal mentally, and his mother, a man of 40, has spent most of his adult life in reformatory and prisons and is at present so confined. The Fleck home is of the low type and an additional bad influence working upon John.

John is apparently a healthy, normal boy with a strong sense of loyalty to his family, but whose family environment of vulgarity, immorality, ignorance, drunkenness, and dishonesty is dragging him down to its own level.

The teacher or the brotherhood class of young men in the church might help John, but they can do nothing in the face of the grandparents' opposition.

*Case 14.*—Ada Watson, now 17, lives with a drunken father and a feeble-minded mother, and five smaller brothers and sisters in a

shack in H, on the edge of a swamp, between the cannery and opening of the town sewer.

a recently entered into a forced marriage with James Rich, a of 60, which was followed in a few months by the birth of a

After this Rich moved out of town, though he sends \$1.50 k to his wife for her support. She is very taciturn and, at the time, high tempered; she is probably subnormal mentally like mother.

e conditions in this home are particularly bad for the 12-year- brother, Johnny—a small, dark-eyed, sickly looking boy—who already run counter to the law, though not personally respon- for the violations.

e home is ill-kept and dirty. The odors in the vicinity are eating, but the conditions inside this home in this respect are, ything, worse than outdoors. Food is strewn all over the floor he furniture. The two small rooms downstairs are overcrowded steaming washtubs and piles of dirty clothes on which the er children play. The two little babies, Mrs. Watson's and her ater's, lie crying and sick in two broken-down baby carriages. children who are able to walk have no shoes and almost no es, and so can not go outdoors in the winter weather. The fam- horribly poor, the result of the father's drunkenness and the er's lack of sense.

Watson works in the coal yard as loader and teamster and \$13.50 in the summer, but in the winter time his pay is cut to \$11 a week and he is allowed to take home what coal he may for family use. He works very steadily but brings very little s money home, wasting it instead in the saloons. Mrs. Watson s several dollars a week by taking in washings and, with the aid ery church in town, they manage to keep alive.

s. Watson is about 40 and very deaf; she is also feeble-minded slatternly. It is difficult to aid the family because she spends penny foolishly. Her mania in this respect seems to be for asive kinds of food. Whenever she receives a gift or payment oney she buys the finest fruits and meats and confections, after n the family straightway relapses into its chronic condition of starvation.

such an environment Johnny was kept out of school several s on the plea that he had no shoes. Whether the parents fur- d the legally required excuses to the teacher or whether they ot is a question difficult to determine. If they did do so, then oor authorities are responsible for permitting the truancy to nue; if they did not do so, then the truant officer is responsible. this boy's case the town authorities also permitted a violation e child-labor law, since Johnny, though only 12, has been work-

ing in the notorious bowling alley and skating rink establishment already described. Johnny sets up ninepins, at 5 cents a game into the evening. This was a violation of the 6 o'clock law for children under 16. It was also a violation of the law which forbids a child under 16 even to remain in such a resort unless accompanied by a parent or guardian.

Johnny has always been a great worker for a little chap. As long as he picks berries for the cannery at 3 cents a quart. All his earnings go toward the support of the family.

Johnny's older brother, Tom, likewise went through the same thing setting up ninepins in the bowling alley. Tom is now 15 and has come home to work on an adjoining farm, where he earns \$3.50 a week on his board. Tom sends a part of his little earnings to his brother Johnny and to his mother; it was he who finally bought the books which enabled Johnny to go to school. But Tom was a confirmed cigarette smoker as a result of working in the bowling alley and came so anemic that the doctor advised his working on a farm. It is more than likely that Johnny, already a sickly boy, will succumb to the same influence within a few years unless some one puts a stop to his evening work and his cigarette smoking.

### COMMUNITY I.

In small-town parlance, I would be termed "a dead hole town," bears also and more widely the reputation of being a "tough town."

It is a very unattractive town—a railroad junction—and as you come in on the train you see only the yards and the little houses of the section gangs. The square seems always neglected and lonely. Very little is done in the way of friendly gatherings in the stores, gossip and play to liven the evenings.

Railroading and farming are the only industries now. When the town was more prosperous there used to be a tannery and a factory. There are three section gangs live in the town, and the section hands are a rather a rough set. Their work is hard, especially in winter when they are fond of drinking. The farm land around here is not so good. Many farms are owned or worked by foreigners who do not come to town much, so there is not the flocking into the stores on Saturday that is such a feature in many places. The railway furnishes excellent transportation facilities, unusually good for so small a place.

Social and community spirit have been dampened by quarrels on a variety of issues. One disagreement was about pool rooms. The pool-room question came up because the young boys were fond of spending their money at the pool rooms, and the parents

sions; so the town board passed a law that no one under 20 of age should be permitted to play in these rooms. The pool-owners objected in their turn, and some of the better citizens constrained to take their side, because a prominent fellow townsman owned the building in which the pool room was located, and not be expected to favor a measure which would hurt the rental of his property. A compromise was made in a regulation limiting that boys between 16 and 20 could play if their fathers consented it. A subsequent State law was enacted which prohibited those under 16 from playing in public pool rooms.

Basket-ball trouble was more serious and is not yet decided. Basketball has been very popular in L. However, the boys took to hanging at the games last winter and their coach did not discourage but drank with them. The drinking has continued this winter and is not been so bad as formerly. The high-school principal plays basketball team but has taken no stand on this point.

For the games informal dances are held. These are about the only public dances held except an occasional one on Decoration Day after the annual picnic, at which there are the usual fakirs and stunts. It is the only regular event of the sort. An occasional circus comes to town, movies come to the hall once in a while, and a medicine show gives nightly performances for a week and moves on.

The young minister of one of the churches, who came only last year, has done a great deal to attract the young people to the church, and now they can be depended upon to help in church doings; and about one-fifth of the members are under 21 years of age. The church services are well attended, but only a few attend prayer meetings, scarcely any young people. The Sunday school has a large attendance. The socials held by the church in the town hall or at the houses call out all the young people.

A good thing the minister of this church did was to form a boys' troop following the rules of the Boy Scouts, though not belonging to a regular organization. This made him highly popular with the young men. The troop has 30 members. In the summer they meet in the town hall, but they do not meet in the winter, for the church is too cold, and they have no other place. The minister took them all camping in the summer. Some of the boys "swore off" from smoking, and the minister seemed to do a great deal of good. This minister, fresh from the social class of a seminary, appreciates the town's need of a youth center. He would like to use a vacant church building for this purpose, but he can get no support.

Another church is a chapel, given by a rich man from the city, where church services are held every other Sunday, but there is no Sunday school. Under the influence of an active woman parson, the membership is growing, and recently a great many

young people have joined. At present more young people than belong to the church, the girls being particularly willing to for its support. The minister, who is still a student at a neighboring university, is popular, liberal, and broad-minded. Suppers are given once a month which are attended by about 100 people.

I is not much of a church town; neither is it a very orderly place despite the fact that the only active justice of the peace has but one criminal case in the last year. The reason for this seems to be that people do not dare make complaints of one another, and the justice does not dare prosecute for fear of losing his position. As the laws are not enforced. It is generally known that the school-keeper sells liquor on the side, petty stealing can go on indefinitely, and the pool room was looked into only after it had become flagrant in its violation of the law.

The school building looms hideously gaunt and white on its level grounds. Inside the walls of the halls are defaced with pencil markings, and the whole is unattractive. The school covers the grammar grades and four years of high-school work, and about 100 children attend. There has been no serious truancy, and but one application for working papers this year. About 20 children in the grammar grades are retarded; 2 of these are feeble-minded.

*Case 1.*—In the I school there has been continual trouble with petty stealing, which is attributed to Alma Parker, a peculiar girl of 13, in the eighth grade. She picks up everything she can get her hands on—candy, pencils, and other small things—and once she stole a fountain pen, which she took out at noon and dropped in the street. The principal kept her after school and talked to her about the theft of the pen, but she cried and denied it. She makes no particular effort to keep the things she steals and persistently denies the thefts.

Alma looks like a changeling. She is small and thin, and has a long, pale face. Her pimply forehead is too high and the top of her head too large. She has large, shallow, pale, gray eyes with black distended pupils, and her untidy hair is the same pale shade as her face. She is perfectly polite and self-possessed in manner and is quite intelligent and interesting. She said she could imagine no reason why they should accuse her of taking things.

Her schoolmates think she is very queer, and they do not like to play with her. She knows they do not want her and so does not come around them. In the stores the clerks keep an eye on her, though they have never caught her taking things. They say she behaves as if she were watching for a chance.

There is apparently nothing in Alma's family or home surroundings to explain her stealing. The family lives about a mile and a half from I in a fairly good though unattractive farmhouse. The

home is clean and well furnished, and the four children are well cared for. Mr. Parker, an unusually intelligent man, lives here in order that his children may have the advantage of a good school and is about to move to a larger place that they may have even better advantages. He has always lived around I and worked on a farm. He seems very fond of the children and eager to show them off, and has good control over them. Mrs. Parker, while not as bright as her husband, is a good housekeeper. She is fond of reading Mary J. Holmes's novels, but, while Alma reads these books, she prefers boys' books.

Alma's parents are supposed to know nothing of her light-fingeredness, though there is a rumor that the teacher last year, who was a relative of theirs, sent word to them about it. They are not the sort of people who would take interference well.

The other cases of delinquency belong to families of different social status; one to a respectable but lower-class family; two to a disreputable family.

*Case 2.*—When William Harris was sent to Industry two years ago on the complaint of his own father the townspeople were so shocked that they would not speak to the father or to the grandmother. The grandfather and grandmother live in a pleasant, comfortable house. The old man kept a shoe shop, and now draws a pension. He had three sons, of whom John, the father of William, is the black sheep. This man is a harness maker by trade and is considered a very good one; but he has always been a rolling stone. During the process he has been in jail several times, and some 19 years ago he fooled a poor little crippled milliner in a near-by town into marrying him, only to leave her within a year. He went back to live with her once or twice, and they had two children—William, who is now 17, and a younger son.

When William was 4 his grandparents took him, but they never could get along with him. They are both embittered, cross old people, and were too stern with William. They never let him have any money to spend, though his grandmother says he always had all he earned. Once his grandfather refused him even 5 cents to spend at a picnic. His father says the boy began smoking at 10 years of age; he began stealing from his family as early as this. William has stolen money, and, on one occasion, took his grandmother's sewing machine apart and sold the fixtures to the boys at school. She punished him by sending him to bed. He used to steal rides on freight trains, and once his father—home for the time being from his wanderings—happened to catch him at this and made his only attempt at paternal discipline. He took William into the barn to thrash him but could find no suitable implement, so he gave it up.



From stealing at home it was but a step to stealing in the street. He took money from the meat-market drawer; he stole a fowl from the store, hid it, and refused to take it back, until his boy friend who knew of the theft did so. Then the father got into trouble, through forging a check, and was sentenced to the penitentiary. This was kept as quiet as possible. Then William stole a watch, for which deed he was committed to Industry.

He stayed there over two years, his time having been exhausted because he was accused wrongfully, according to his father, of eating something in the officer's soup. He then worked on a farm where he was placed by the school until November, when he returned to I. At first he seemed very much improved, but old associations proved too strong. He would not go to school and spent every evening he earned in the pool room. Another boy and he carried away a barrel of cider from his grandfather's cellar in pails. Finally he ran away and went to tramping. After a month he came back, having had been out in the West, and tried to get over into Canada with his father, but was locked up because he did not have the requisites for immigrating.

His grandmother in despair sent him to his mother in another town. This woman, although Mr. Harris declares she steals and is immoral, has brought up her younger son well and has found a place for William on a farm. After a week he left and went to work in the chain works in a near-by town. At this time he works nights and, since he spent all his daytime on the streets, he went to sleep on his job and was discharged. He returned to his mother and now works in the silk mills.

*Case 3.*—Mabel and Ethel Dimmock, aged 14 and 12, respectively, are only slightly incorrigible, but their inheritance and home surroundings are bad. The Dimmocks are one of the "tough" families of the town. Mr. Dimmock is foreman of a section gang, though he has not enough education to keep his own time schedule. He is pointed out as a very strong man who would be apt to knock down anyone who interfered in his affairs. One instance of Mabel's incorrigibility is as follows: On one occasion she went to a party with her half sister, Hattie Doane, a notoriously bad character. Her father had warned her not to stay late, but she lingered until midnight. Then her father came after her, "angry enough to beat her," but her sister interceded, so he gave her only a shaking. She says she doesn't dare misbehave, because "pa whips so hard." He is contented to have her stay in school as long as she is under his control.

Both girls have the reputation in the town of being light-fingers, with apparently nothing on which to base the idea so far as Mabel is concerned. The justice says he has these girls under surveillance.

se they leave home evenings ostensibly to go to a neighbor's do not arrive at their destination.

th the girls are retarded—being in the fourth grade—and are d. Ethel can not even read well. But they like school, and like ad fairy-tales from the school library.

ey live in a barren, isolated 6-room house which stands alone on ed-grown lot just opposite the schoolhouse. In the six rooms oused seven people—the father and mother, the two girls, the sister above mentioned, and a little boy, said to be the child of Dimmock, but really an illegitimate child of the girls' half and as the seventh member of the family a boarder, a man of so, a Greek, who can speak little English. Mr. Dimmock earns \$65 a month.

### COMMUNITY J.

is is a settlement on the river bank, near the docks and wharves, the hill on which a pleasant residence village is situated.

e population is rough. There is much petty theft; a gang of run under a vicious leader; "wild" girls infest the streets in vening.

unately for the children, the village has persuaded one of its citizens to act as truant officer. He is a man of high ideals, children of his own, keeps in close touch with the children, and hat they at least attend school. The strong influence of his athetic, kindly authority carries weight with many a boy and who has learned little of discipline or self-control.

t keeping the children in school does little to counteract the ledge gained in vicious homes, and still less to keep the com- cation of such vicious knowledge in check.

is also to the advantage of the village that the justice of the is resident. Children who tend to become incorrigible may ought before him for warning, even though he is loath to make rt case which will be a record against the child. He backs up rk of the truant officer, not hesitating to fine offending parents, though occasionally he pays the fine out of his own pocket.

e cases studied here are the following:

e 1.—Laura Blake, a slip of a girl 17 years old, less than 5 all, pretty mannered, appealing, not very strong looking, is mother of two illegitimate babies, the last one with so many le fathers that she herself can not determine who is respon-

r story is this: When she was 4 years of age her mother died, after that she never had any regular home. She lived for a with different relatives in several towns, and finally was by a doctor's wife who, she says, meant to adopt her. She

went to school, had music lessons, and helped at home and then she reached the fourth grade. Evidently the family meant well for her, for she still speaks of them with affection; but before she was 16 she had a child whose father was the son of the house. The family sent her away, so she came back to live below the hill with her aunt.

The home to which she came is notorious in the village. In it three generations—progressively degraded. The old grandmother married to a shiftless man, has worked hard all of her life and goes out to do washing and cleaning, bringing in most of the money that keeps the home in food and fire. At night she comes back home through a broken gate into a yard saturated with decayed garbage and filth. She goes through a bare, dirty hall to the semibasement kitchen-dining-sitting room. Laura is almost sure to be at home just now, for she has a second baby, which lies in an old soap cradle swaying unevenly on homemade rockers.

Four other children are growing up in this home, aged 3, 5, 7, 10. Beyond constant attempts at truancy, checked by the truancy officer, the children have as yet no official record of delinquency, but neighbors say that "stealing is born in them," and small thefts are often missed. They are cruel to animals, having tortured a cat until a neighbor had to interfere. All the children are kind, intelligent, and lively. Their mother, the girl-mother's aunt, is well-dressed and neat. She goes constantly to the movies, and men frequently frequent the house or meet her elsewhere. Her eldest boy, now 16, is illegitimate. Laura's grandfather has always been a shiftless vagabond, whose idea of work is trapping, hunting, and thieving; he is now serving a term in the penitentiary for stealing.

There are two other adult members of the group, making seven grown-ups and six children who live here. An uncle of Laura's, brother of the grandmother and brother of the aunt, is a worthless drunkard, who has been known to go to the house where his mother is working, collect her pay, and get drunk to greet her penniless homecoming. He is willing to live on the earnings of the women of the family, no matter how the money is made. His sister, a comely, well-appearing girl, works quite regularly in the cigar factory, makes low wages, and is willing to sell herself for the things which are pleasures to her—an evening in a dance hall, a couple of hours at the movies, a supper in a saloon restaurant.

Laura, grown hardened in this company, and suspicious owing to her encounters with the law and courts, is furtive, untruthful, and contradictory in her statements, but when she is pinned down, she tells her story fairly accurately, without in the least, however, seeming to realize its degradation. A short time ago she made a legal complaint against several of the men accused sent his wife

give the girl money to get out of town. When the case was tried, the girl's conflicting story and reputation told against her; and the matter was dropped. The police justice to whom she had made complaint against the man she accused of being the father of her second infant found upon investigation that responsibility could not be fixed, owing to the girl's questionable reputation. She therefore obtained no support for the child. A charitable society was notified by the judge who heard the case for assault and planned to send the girl to Bedford Reformatory, but, owing to the difficulties of getting action, nothing has been done.

*Case 2.*—Near neighbors to the Blakes, of case 1, are the Morey family—a father, mother, and six children. The father drinks heavily and constantly, but is a good, all-round workman when sober, and the man who gives him work most of the time has been very patient with him.

The mother has been in the insane asylum several times for melancholia and depression—each time released as recovered. Married at 15, she has borne six living children. While at home from the asylum, she is notorious for her improper overtures to men.

The oldest son has tried, with small encouragement at home, to improve the family fortunes. He works fairly steadily, but has too much against which to battle. The oldest girl ran away from home and joined relatives in another city, some distance away.

At the time the next girl was brought into court by the children's society, to be committed to Hudson, the family was living in a one-room shack which the father had built on the river bank. No one would rent them a house, because they were so filthy.

The institution at Hudson could not receive the girl because it was overcrowded; later an epidemic of trachoma developed, and her entrance was again postponed. In the meantime she grew older, went away from the village, got work as a housemaid, and at present occasionally returns, well dressed, pleasant mannered, and apparently doing well. The relatives did not know, or would not give, her present address.

The last time the mother was sent to the asylum the three younger children were taken by the children's society and placed in a boarding home, preparatory to placing them out. This spurred the father to extra effort; he moved into a four-room house, persuaded a woman with three children to come and live with him and, as she kept things neat and tidy, the children were returned to him.

*Cases 3 and 4.*—A farmer who had been losing a good deal of fruit caught two Italian boys—brothers, one 16 and one 14—stealing his apples and brought them before the justice. The justice tried to get the man to let the boys go with a good stiff warning, but he was determined to make an example of some one, so the judge imposed

a nominal fine of \$1 each. The boys have no other record of delinquency against them and have since moved out of the neighborhood.

*Cases 5 to 9.*—Five boys—two 14 years of age, two 15, and one 16—tried to hook a ride on a wagon up a steep hill leading from the river to the village center. The driver did not want to add so much to his load and warned them to keep off. When they persisted, he hit one of them with a whip, and a battle was on. The boys made a concerted attack, pulled the driver off the wagon, and beat him severely. The man promptly went to the judge, made complaints, and swore out warrants. The boys were arrested, brought in for trial, and pleaded guilty. Because they had been "running a little wild," though this was their first gang offense, the judge impressed them with the seriousness of their conduct by sentencing three to the county jail, one to the house of refuge, and discharging one with a warning. Sentence was suspended, and the boys paroled to the village priest, to whom they reported once a week. The judge said they felt much worse about being obliged to report than they would have about going to jail. There has been no further trouble with them, and since the case happened four years ago, the boys are grown, and the danger point is probably passed.

### COMMUNITY K.

K is a village on the shore of a large river. Along the river lie the fine summer residences of city people. On the other side lie the homes of the workaday village people, the two general stores, the district school, and the railway station. Back from the river about a mile the hills rise covered with timber, and here the families have made clearings in the woods and are independent farmers on a small scale; but the farms are isolated, and the farmers are not thrifty. The population is mostly of American stock.

Two cities are easily accessible and frequently whole families go to the nearest city for amusement, shopping, movies, or dances.

Besides the farm work on estates and smaller places, employment is furnished by two general stores, the railway with its station work; and fruit picking, wood cutting, and ice harvesting in season. An occasional all-round artisan is found. The work is more or less seasonal, the best paid and most constant employment being on the estates.

In this village child labor of a certain sort is usual. Technical violations of the law are common, even on the part of thoughtful well-intentioned people, who employ the small boys and girls on many jobs and errands. Usually the children take out their work papers as soon as possible. Many of the girls—those who do not marry early—leave with the work at home—go away to near

to work in factories or as waitresses; the boys take whatever is offered. While there is much hand-to-mouth living, there are no actually dependent families, the minister's wife reporting at Thanksgiving that she knew of no family where a basket was needed. The village is not oversupplied with churches. One holds its services in a small frame building, with a supply minister from a neighboring village. Membership is small and attendance irregular. Funds for the support of the work are mainly contributed by a few well-to-do families.

Another larger church is a real factor—both social and religious. Through the generosity of owners of estates, a charming stone church, parsonage, and sexton's house have been built. The house and grounds of the largest estates, some of the summer residents, and a few village people make up the attendance. The minister and his family are friendly, sympathetic, and appreciative of the problems of the parishioners and of anyone in the village who needs help, and are active in all village affairs.

Neither church is aggressive in increasing membership, and many of the village people belong to neither parish and have no formal religious life.

The chief stimulant to fun and play is a newly organized neighborhood association, carefully fostered by a socially-minded summer resident. The activities are loyally supported by the village people, and are slowly developing initiative. The schoolhouse has been used for dances, lectures, and meetings, and the school trustee hopes to make it the voting place. Out-of-doors community entertainments have been given.

Before the formation of the neighborhood association, drinking at the village tavern, rowdy dances in the neighboring village, or occasional trips to near-by cities, with shopping and church service for the women and children, and an almost inevitable "drunk" for the men, were the usual recreations. Already a dancing class has been organized; it is considered more or less bad form to come drunk to dances; growing boys and girls are learning to know each other away from the family eye which sees quickly undue liberties. The station and the country store now have a rival as a place for making acquaintances.

It is even hoped that the school social center will rival the village tavern. This resort, kept by an Italian, is the center of social life not only for Italians, but for some of the American men, and for some of the boys as they grow up, who frequent it every evening. Brawls are common, and there have been two murders by hot-headed Italian boys. Some of the most skilled workmen in the village regularly take time off for a spree at this place.

Drinking is also given social standing through the liquor which is served at the parties given on the estates for the workmen and their families. Consequently there was only mild gossip when a number of young men entertained girl friends by the roadside near the Italian tavern with a keg of beer. The girls, about 16 years old, are considered the nicest girls in the village.

The schoolhouse is an attractive frame building. The neighborhood association has already added to the furnishing and will do more. The grounds are ample for all sorts of games and some equipment has been provided by the neighborhood association. The children make good use of this equipment, and have largely abandoned their former favorite amusement of sitting on the wall and throwing stones at teams going by, with yells and jeers for the driver.

The school is overcrowded, for the custom prevails of starting many of the children when they are 4 or 5 years old. The teachers report much retardation. As yet there is no practice of going to a high school, in a town only 6 miles away, connected with K by good train service.

The increase of Italian children is complicating the work. Many of the children do not speak English when they enter, and the parents have to be educated into sending them regularly.

A former teacher, familiar with the school, says this school has always been difficult to discipline. Rough talk and, at times, rougher actions are traditional. Three observations of the present group of children showed them to be lax in language, actions, and attention. They shuffle when they walk, leave their seats at will, and have no snap or go; the older boys try constantly to see how far they can misbehave without reproof. The children are not at all ashamed of absences, of nonpromotion, or of being retarded. Punishments consist in keeping the child in, sending him home, or changing seats; with the final resort of whipping with a dog whip or of suspension or expulsion. The school trustee backs up the teacher in discipline when called upon, but this is not often.

Illegal absence is quite common, though none of the children seem to be truants on their own account. Excuses are easily accepted, and some of them are of questionable validity. The truant officer for this part of the township lives some miles away, and does not have a reputation for being particularly vigilant. Last year the school trustee sent for him three times, but he did not appear. The senior teacher lives in another town, comes on the train in the morning in time for school, and leaves within an hour after closing.

The following cases were studied in this place:

*Cases 1 and 2.* Johnny Grey and Joe Smith broke into a closed summer residence. They wandered through the house, then going back to the cellar, they selected some cans of food to take away and,

what is more serious, opened the metal receptacle in which matches were stored and scattered them where they might be lighted by rats. The boys were frightened away before they removed anything, and their entry was not discovered until the owner returned the next week-end. Suspicion immediately fell on Johnny, who had been unable to explain to his mother where he had been on a certain afternoon. He promptly confessed, and implicated Joe, who also owned up.

The owner agreed with the parents that if the damage were repaired he would not take any action. The boys were also told that quite a large sum in damages was to be paid.

For punishment Johnny has been forbidden to go away from home at any time alone, to go alone to or from school, to go on any drives, to attend the boys' club meetings which he so greatly enjoys; he was also whipped. Joe was punished by a mere scolding, for his mother blames the smaller boy, and calls the deed a boyish prank. Not until it was pointed out to her that only the leniency of the owner kept her boy from going to the reformatory did she seem to have any realization of the seriousness of the offense.

Johnny, the younger burglar, is 8 years old, bright, quick, inquisitive, and progressive, known to all the neighborhood as a likable nuisance. He takes orders for premium soap, drives with anybody who is going anywhere, runs errands, has a strong instinct for any social gathering, takes an active part in all entertainments, and sings in the choir. His questions fairly tumble over one another, and his manners are most ingratiating.

The father is a jolly, friendly man, well liked in the village. He is a social drinker, who gets drunk on holidays and frequently on Saturdays. He has regular work on an estate where his habits are not frowned upon.

The mother talks too much to be at all times polite or strictly truthful; she has an extensive but incorrectly used vocabulary; is hard working both at home and when she works out by the day to supplement the family income. She is always one of the first to offer help when there is trouble in a family, when there is a cake to be baked for a social, or gossip to be heard. She talks much about bringing up her children right; but, with low standards, little refinement and self-control, she is hampered in getting results. Both father and mother are above the average of the village, in energy, ambition, and hopes for their children, but results so far have not been up to expectations.

Joe, the other housebreaker, the son of a widow, has recently come to the village, and is a typical city mouse. He is 14, his hair always smooth, his clothes tidy, his shoes shined. In school work he is



indolent, a little supercilious, and always on the verge of idleness. He is frequently out for half a day, or for a whole day, on a trip to the city, with only a perfunctory excuse from his mother.

Indications are that he is possessed of undesirable inclinations which his mother does not suspect. To her surprise, she has learned since the housebreaking episode that he has smoked for several years. He has been reported for questionable talk to little school.

The lack of self-control in the case of Joe is plainly the fault of the mother. The boy's father died when he was 5, and the mother has since supported her two children by teaching. She is a blond, slender, attractive, and makes her life a romantic dream by placing herself in the spotlight. She blames everybody else for her son's shortcomings—the grandmother who lived with them for a long time, for trolling him when the mother was away; a brother who was himself actively bad, did not set a good example for her son; his companions for teaching him to smoke, for giving him whisky to drink, and for vicious talking before him.

The boy does not realize the seriousness of breaking into a house. He readily admits his misconduct, without either shame or remorse, and the suggestion that he had made himself liable to be sent to a reform school was clearly a new thought. He has heard his mother extenuate his conduct until he can not be expected to realize its seriousness.

*Case 3.*—Not long ago the school was obliged to expel a boy for the use of obscene language to girls. The culminating offense occurred on the way home from school. Two other boys were present, and it was suspected that while not guilty at this time, they were in the habit of using such language. The offender had previously been warned, so he was expelled. Later, when the question of school for the boy came up, a certificate of heart leakage was obtained from a physician, and the boy did his lessons at home with the wife of his father's employer. Though always retarded at school, he gathered no other trouble excepting that for which he was expelled.

Mrs. Winter, with whom the boy lived, could not make him read much from books, but he was good in helping in the housework. He was bright enough to do most things around the farm. He was frequently aware, but she had never heard him say anything vulgar. The boy's mother died when he was small, and the father has since taken him from farm to farm, wherever he could get work.

A neighbor who helped in an outdoor entertainment says the boy was difficult to manage during rehearsals, was rough, boisterous, and inclined to indecent remarks.

*Case 4.*—Perhaps one of the worst cases found is that of the daughter of Mrs. Pray and the son of Mr. Dodd. When this girl was only 15 and the boy only 17 it was discovered that the girl was pregnant and the children were forced to marry. They have had no chance whatsoever. The relation of their respective parents is one of the scandals of the village. They have lived together unmarried for many years. There is no legal reason why they should not marry, but the man is unwilling. They are clearly abnormal. The man's son and the woman's daughter were both very small children when the man and woman began to live together. The girl grew up knowing that Mr. Dodd was not her father and that her own father was dead; and the boy grew up with the knowledge that Mrs. Pray was not his mother, but that his mother was living and had left his father. What standards of rectitude can one expect from children thus situated?

*Case 5.*—The girl from the isolated farm presents a special problem. The case of Anna White is typical. Her home is a half-finished cabin, back in the woods, 2 hilly miles from the station. Here lives the mother—a slight, overworked woman—with a boy of 8 and a girl of 6, and intermittently the three grown children—a boy of 20, a married daughter of 18, and Anna, aged 16.

The mother at 19 married a race-track follower—a hostler, rubber, and general utility man. Three children were born during the wandering life of following the races; the wife grew tired, and, in spite of her mother's and husband's protest, decided to go and live on the isolated farm with her father. She had never known a settled home because her mother had driven her father away with her nagging tongue, and taken the baby girl with her when the home was broken up. The father bought the place of 8 acres, back in the hills away from talking tongues; half built the house, set out an orchard and year by year scratched in a few crops. When he died he left the place to his daughter, Anna's mother, and here she has lived for 20 years. Two or three cows, chickens and eggs, with what they can raise, make up the living. Occasionally the mother gets a little ready money by washing for the summer residents—walking the two hilly miles to the village, doing a day's work, and walking home in the dusk. She is attractive, capable, and intelligent. After she went to live on the farm her husband would come and stay from time to time, and three more children were born. He was very jealous, and at times abusive; he did not, until later years, drink much, but gambled away everything that he could take and sell. The offense which finally led Mrs. White to drive him away was as follows:

She had paid him \$5 for a wheelbarrow and a harrow. While she was away from home, he took the harrow apart, loaded it on a wheelbarrow, and took it to the city, where he disposed of it. His wife

had him arrested for theft and the judge fined him \$10, which he borrowed in order to avoid going to jail. In retaliation upon his wife he brought from the city a girl of questionable character and lived with her in a shack in the village, until, finally, he disappeared. The mother says that he came of a good family and always insisted on having the children go to school, even after they had learned all the teacher could teach them; but he would do nothing to earn money and send them to high school.

Anna was reported to a children's society in a near-by city when she was 14 for begging on the streets and for consorting with questionable characters. Investigation failed to show any definite acts on which a charge could be based, but it was certain that the girl was in danger. She had come to the city to do housework in the home where her sister had worked until she was married; but she was not strong enough to meet the demands—she was only 14—and after trying some other places, had gone into a factory. She was supposed to live with an aunt, but spent most of her time with a girl friend who had left her family and started out to make her own living. This girl friend appears to have been adventurous, successful in finding jobs, but not eager to keep them, and to have supplied imagination and initiative for both. Anna is unstable and unambitious, easily led, and lazy. Jenny, the friend, found work for them, including one adventurous outing as hotel waitresses. Between jobs, Anna comes home for a while, but always grows restless and wants to go away. Her mother says that she is "dance crazy," that while she cares nothing for men; the men follow her, that she spends all her earnings on clothes, and is unwilling to stay at home. Just now she has gone to visit her married sister, and the mother hopes she will soon get married herself.

The two younger children still at home bid fair to follow the older ones. They must walk 2 hard miles to school, and the mother does not make them go if there is any excuse. When the little girl is sick, the boy stays home with her. In their turn, they are helping with the work on the place, too heavy tasks for their years. The boy is musical, and the chief home amusement is listening to tunes on the mouth organ.

### COMMUNITY L.

This is a small town most attractively situated on a pretty river. Since for many years this town has had the service of two different steam roads connecting it with the city, it very early became a residential town for well-to-do persons who did not care to live in the city but who had business relations there. It is not precisely a

suburb of the city; it is far too much of a country town to be called that, but it seems to feel a certain city influence.

In this town great efforts have been made to maintain social agencies for the benefit of the young people. A wealthy man has given funds for weekly public dances, the aim of which is to offset the attractions of the many low-grade dances of a commercial nature. Another person maintains a public magazine reading room. A young lawyer administers a very active Boy Scout organization, and a woman of wealth maintains a Camp Fire Girls' group and classes in æsthetic dancing. Yet girls of 15 frequent public dances.

In spite of social efforts, the general standard of morality in the town is low, and many cases of delinquency were found, some among the most prosperous families of the place. Parents seem to make no attempt at a proper control of the situation. In fact there seems to be no parental backbone in the entire town.

The justice of the peace was forced to put a number of young men on probation last summer for maintaining a gambling establishment. A group of girls in this town has been allowed to camp and to entertain men unchaperoned.

The town of L is a living example of the futility of social-service organizations outside the home unless the work of such agencies receives the backing of the parents within the home. In L every child is a law unto himself. Parents in this town need education, and they need moral support.

Following are cases of juvenile misconduct discovered in the study of this town:

*Cases 1 and 2.*—Adelaide Cropsey, a girl of 17, and Fred Walker, a boy of 16, were married about Christmas time in order to legitimate the child which the girl was soon to bear. This action was forced through by her relatives though both she and the boy were very reluctant.

They are to live with the boy's parents for the present—an environment which will probably result in a further deterioration of the girl's character.

When Fred's father died Mrs. Walker inherited from him a fine, old country house with beautiful grounds surrounding it. Here she lived for some years with a man whom she did not immediately marry, though she has now done so. Fred and his older brother grew up in this atmosphere with the old house allowed to tumble down and the grounds to go to ruin. Both boys became very wild.

Fred, though only 16, is 6 feet tall and built like a young prize fighter. He is bright, though he left school at the age of 14. At that time the school principal was a man of notoriously low morality,

as a result of which he was forced to give up the school. His influence in such matters was of the worst kind.

Fred is usually at the bottom of any mischief going on in the village. In this respect he is said to resemble his own father, who died six years ago.

Adelaide's family influences were theoretically better, though they were not sufficiently strong to overbalance the bad community influences. She is a pretty girl with refined manners, and comes from one of the so-called better families of the town, her mother being a woman of refinement and culture who made a very poor marriage whose husband ran away when Adelaide was very small. Adelaide's uncle, her mother's brother, who has lived with them at times, is a hopeless drunkard and hardly self-supporting.

Adelaide has associated with a group of girls who represent the best families of the town, among whom, however, are several whose behavior has been very questionable.

*Case 3.*—Elizabeth Foster is one of a number of girls who, in spite of good home surroundings and care, has been smirched by the viciousness of this community. She has scarcely attempted to correct her indecent conduct, but the whole town, accustomed to its low standard, is willing to close its eyes; no one wishes to stir up scandal. In consequence, they leave conditions untouched which in another place, would compel action. The watchword of the village is "Hush."

Elizabeth's father belongs to one of the old families of the town, though he himself is a drinker and has degenerated until he has become a casual laborer. Her mother is a quiet, sad woman whose life has been spoiled, and who now never leaves her home. She has never been a strong influence in the formation of her daughter's character.

Elizabeth has three brothers who are all more or less wayward. One, aged 16, was recently brought home drunk from the neighboring city by a man who formerly ran the saloon in L. This man was very angry when L became a no-license town two years ago, and since then he has attempted to show that a no-license town is as bad for the boys as a license town. His method is to take boys to the city in his automobile and there to get them drunk.

All three of the Foster boys were arrested a year ago in a raid which was made on a petty gambling house in L.

*Case 4.*—Elaine Little has been accused of very grave immorality and irregularity. She is an unusually beautiful girl, and always well dressed, but her bearing is rather vulgar.

Her father is an excellent man, an elder of the church, and a leader in the town. Her mother is a good woman, though perhaps not particularly intelligent. The child has never known the slightest

parental restraint. At the age of 15 she was allowed to go to dances and to remain there unchaperoned until 2 o'clock in the morning.

She is still in high school, and is reported to be a bright girl and one who never gives trouble. Her case is clearly due to lack of proper care on the part of her parents.

*Case 5.*—Laura Mott's father, a good but negligent man, is a wealthy farmer; her mother, a person of charm and refinement, is a church worker and a social leader in the town. Her grandfather, who laid the foundations of the family fortune, was a man of coarse fiber and unscrupulous principles, but of great energy. Laura is said to resemble him.

Vivacious and headstrong, she is the ruler of the family and always has her own way. She has black hair and snapping black eyes. Her force has broken through the family discipline, and her conduct has been such that her reputation has suffered severely. One of the incidents that helped in this was her intoxication and boisterous behavior at a public dance.

Now she has left what protection her family gave her and has gone to a near-by city to work as a stenographer.

*Case 6.*—Mary Black is the 17-year-old daughter of a tenant farmer, a man of good character but without ambition or spirit. The mother is a good woman but very ignorant. The family has moved about continually, having lived in three different locations within the past year.

Mary is an irregular attendant at high school, where she is only a sophomore though she has attended for three years. She is not considered very bright in school and is also regarded as deceitful, dishonest, and unduly interested in boys. Her physical development is precociously mature, and she has a gross and unattractive face.

She has been detected stealing money from overcoat pockets in school and has also stolen schoolbooks. It is known that she has been guilty of grave sexual offenses. Twice she has run away with a young man, the 24-year-old son of a wealthy farmer on whose farm her father has at times been a laborer. The young man wishes to marry her, but her parents will not give their consent, owing to the fact that the religion of his family is different from theirs. If the girl were of legal age, the young man would marry her in spite of her parents' opposition. He is a decent sort of youth, really too good for the girl.

*Cases 7, 8, and 9.*—There are 13 in the Hackert family. The father is a drunken, shiftless, ignorant, and quarrelsome man. He is a section hand, but does not work regularly. The mother is an ignorant negress; an aunt, who lives with them, is addicted to drinking; and both have the reputation for immorality.

Three boys, aged 14, 15, and 16 are petty thieves. Their mother has brought them up to the trade. An example of her influence is to be found in what might be described as her grocery-store technique. Arriving with Tom, Johnny, and Sam at a grocery store she so spreads out her voluminous proportions as to obscure the vision of the proprietor. Thus protected against observations her filial accomplices stuff their clothes with nuts, oranges, etc.; while she is discussing some purchase. Next comes the formality of search and confiscation, an unpleasant duty performed by the proprietor's assistant who stations himself at the door immediately upon the entrance of mother and sons, and who permits no blockade running. Mrs. Hackert does not allow such incidents to alter her trading habits, and she is sure soon to return to the attack. These boys are said to have stolen washing from the clotheslines in neighbors' yards and to have committed all sorts of petty depredations. They have never been punished nor restrained in any way.

The oldest child, Estelle, an attractive girl of 18, was brought before the juvenile court when she was 13. The charge was that she and her mother were in the habit of soliciting among the gangs of workmen along the railroad track. The charge was not sustained, however, for the women showed that they visited these men in order to sell soft drinks and food. Estelle was kept on probation for three months and then the whole matter was dropped.

There are six younger children who are scarcely clothed. The shack in which they all live has only four rooms and is very dirty.

### COMMUNITY M.

Midway between two large towns, in a river valley, lies the village of M, with a population of about 1,400. The region is one of great natural beauty. The village itself makes no such impression. Except for the main street, the streets are dirt roads not in good condition.

The river makes the region a fertile one, but the land is little used for farming, real estate values being too great to make it profitable on a large scale. In the village are small retail stores, 11 saloons, and a butter-cutting factory, which employs about 7 men. Many of the working population are artisans employed on construction either near by or in towns along the various county roads, near enough to commute. Two golf clubs furnish employment of an uncertain character to the boys. A few men are employed on the railroad and around the station.

Perhaps the fact that there is an excellent street-car service through the main street of M hinders the development of industries there, for it is comparatively easy for the inhabitants to go

to larger neighboring towns to obtain work in shops and factories. There are almost no industrial opportunities for children in the town. Caddying, work in the small butcher and grocery shops, and helping their fathers, if they happen to be artisans, make up the list. In spite of this the school principal says that they have great difficulty in holding the boys in school, and that they frequently have cases where a boy within a few months or weeks of graduation drops out and gets his working papers, even though he has no prospect of a job and his parents do not need his wages.

Boys under 14 who work at caddying do so in violation of the law, inasmuch as the work is done during the school term, though not during school hours. Public opinion would not support the enforcement of the law, and the principal has even been asked to excuse a boy from the school in order that he might earn a pair of shoes. There are no records in the children's docket in the police justice's court of any cases involving child-labor law enforcement.

The children who drop out of school and a great many of the adults spend their time loafing upon the streets, hence at any time, even in rainy weather, an unusually large number of idle men and boys may be seen on the streets and hotel porches. A casual visitor is particularly struck by the youth of the boys on the corners. Often a group may be found in the drug store or on that corner.

The school, which reaches the eighth grade, has a principal who is really in earnest and could be counted upon to cooperate in any effective work in the village. He started a Boy Scout organization, which, however, had to be discontinued because he was unable to find anyone to help him. He offered to give evening classes in the school for the boys who had dropped out and who felt the need for more work, but the board felt that the installing of the necessary lights was too great an expense. This principal feels very keenly the need for some field and tennis courts, where the children may be given a chance to learn how to play good games. An adjoining space has been used for baseball. The noon hour could be much better managed if such a playground existed; as it is now, the children bring their lunch, eat it, and then have nothing to do. There is a rule that the children must stay upon the school grounds, but there is no teacher in charge, and they often wander into the woods. If he had a playground, the principal thinks that he could detail a teacher to have charge for a week at a time and thus have constant supervision. There is a menace in the unsupervised noon hour. With the coming of the summer vacation, with all the teachers away and no organized recreation for the children, with no work outside that provided by their parents or by caddying, the children are simply turned loose upon the village.



The school each year has a baseball team. Money for such other equipment is obtained by stopping people on the street asking for contributions.

School gardens are maintained in the village, the one even though that the school is trying to reach the homes of the children. One problem in connection with the schools is the reluctance of the teachers to live in the town and the fact that as a rule the teachers are very poorly paid and consequently, if they are good, use it as a stepping stone only; if inefficient they tend to stay forever. The fact that the high school is not in the town makes the break apparent, and the children do not have that incentive to study and do good work.

A kindergarten was not successful at the school, because the parents could not see the use of it, and were indignant that anyone should think that their children, even at the tender ages of 4 and 5, were not "smart enough" to go right into the first grade. As a result most children stay two years in the first grade, and the teacher's problems are most difficult because of the parents' objection to all things not distinctly utilitarian.

A parent-teacher's association was once attempted, but the parents, so a board member said, did not see the advantages, and feel that they could "manage their children" without it. There are no organized recreational activities that would appeal to the tastes of the children.

The Boy Scout organization started by the school principal has fallen out. Camp-fire groups have never been established for girls. One of the churches has a number of societies for the Sunday school children, but none that would fill this need. Another church, established over 100 years ago, has a young people's society, which gives a number of sociables. Another, somewhat out of the center of the town, has recently been holding dances once a week in the evening, in a rooming hall on the main street. The young people come early, and as soon as they leave the older people come. Ten cents admission is charged. It is stated by a few thoughtful people that those most "needing" such things do not go. Dances are sometimes held in the small fire house. There are occasionally the scene of rowdyism, but not as frequently as in former days.

The village has no park, no library, no moving pictures. Moving picture theaters have opened only to close. A 20-minute ride will take the children to neighboring towns where there are plenty of "movies," and some of them use the libraries of these towns, but there are not many.

The 11 saloons are so situated that few parts of the village are more than five minutes from at least one, and there are indications that they are open on Sundays as well as on week days, in violation

of the State law. Pool rooms exist. One proprietor was brought up before the grand jury two years ago, with sufficient evidence to indict him, for having allowed minors under 16 to frequent and to play pool in his place, but the grand jury let him go free, because, as the district attorney later said, they considered it too trivial a charge. Amusement of a similar sort was until recently furnished by gambling machines in several stores. One storekeeper was prosecuted over a year ago on the charge, and only recently the justice, after receiving several anonymous complaints, closed up two or three. The machines were of the type into which money is put, and something, either merchandise or money, comes out. If money, it must be spent in the store in which the machine is located.

In the summer there is a swimming pool, which seems to be the gathering place of the boys and a center for the dissemination of much information of a questionable character.

The local justice does not seem to be particularly fitted to discharge his duties. His commitments do not always fit the case. Probation to him means practically nothing, which becomes particularly serious when it is noticed how often he uses probation, which he frequently calls "parole." His children's docket does not contain a complete record of cases which have been brought before him. There is evidence leading one to believe that he is not a strictly impartial judge, but is influenced by his own interests in the village. He calls very seldom upon children's agencies for advice, considering that he can handle things alone. He has practically the entire responsibility of admitting children to and discharging them from institutions.

The following cases of bad conduct were found in M:

*Case 1.*—Burgess Tomlins was arrested on a charge of petty larceny when he was 13. He had never had any difficulty of any kind before. He pleaded guilty, was paroled to the justice, and reported to him for six months. Shortly before the theft the family had been reported for destitution and referred to the poor authorities. The mother who was a widow wished the children committed for the winter. There may have been some connection between the theft of some small thing and the poverty. No teacher at the school knows about it, for though the theft took place there, the principal has been changed.

*Case 2.*—Petty offenses are sometimes brought before the justice because they involve some one especially interested in having them punished. Five children came to him upon the complaint of the wife of the president of the board of education for throwing things at her house. Two boys and three girls were involved. The difficulty grew out of the dissatisfaction of the children with the dismissal of the principal of the school. They had previously rioted

and started out in a procession through the main part of the and on into the next village. Because the case was so obviously of a school dispute the justice said that he did not consider it necessary to send the children away, and so "suspended sentence" six months. None of the children have ever been brought before him since.

*Case 3.*—Rosa Luciano, an Italian child born in 1899, has lived around M all her life. Her father came to the United States when he was 18 years old. Her own mother died when Rosa was 3 years old and she was placed in the almshouse near M. Rosa's stepmother, with whom she now lives, also Italian, came to the United States 18 years ago and is now 31 years old. She has never learned to speak English. She has two boys, 13 and 11 years old.

Rosa stayed in the almshouse until she was 3 and was then placed in a children's institution, where she stayed either eight years until she was 8 years old, when she was taken out and came to live with her father and stepmother who were then living in M.

The Luciano house is somewhat better than many of the Italian homes in M, and compares favorably with the other homes visited.

After Rosa came home from the institution, her stepmother says she was always telling how the sisters did things, and wanting them to follow their ways instead of her stepmother's. In Sunday school her teacher was a sister from a near-by convent, to which she often ran away. She was once expelled from the school as ungovernable but, after expelling her, the principal wanted to complain because she was not attending. The school-teachers said that she was a thief, used bad language, and did not have good clothes nor enough to eat.

Almost a year after coming home she was committed by a justice to a Protestant institution, but later was moved to one which was Catholic. After her return from there she was dissatisfied, and ran away to her stepbrother's godmother, in a village about 15 miles away, and then again to a large city. She was picked up on the streets of the city one evening at 8.20. She had walked from a distance of over 20 miles, after taking \$1—so the stepmother's tale goes—of her stepmother's money. Rosa said at the time that she left at 7 a. m., because her stepmother was going to beat her for not keeping the house properly in the three days the stepmother had been away. Rosa was doing well in school at this time, her stepmother says. She always read a great deal at home and did not care to go out with the other girls. For running away in this fashion she was committed by the justice to a Catholic institution.

The justice seemed to feel that it was very largely the fault of the family that the child was so hard to control. He said that the stepmother overworked her. This is borne out by the school record of the boy

now in school, for it is only by the eternal vigilance of the principal that their father's desire to make them work is frustrated. The justice described the child as rather unattractive physically, and said that it was his opinion that if she had been an attractive child she would have "gone wrong," as he expressed it. The health officer volunteered the information that she had been "a terror," calling people names and throwing things at them. There is no indication that she had been anything but a child somewhat difficult to manage, in a home lacking sympathy.

Two years after her commitment to the Catholic institution, Rosa came home. The justice was asked to get her out and after talking with the sister at what he calls the "penitentiary," he requested her release. The justice then obtained a position for Rosa in a factory in the neighboring town, where she now works, from 7 to 12, and from 1 to 6, except Saturdays, when she works 6 hours, from 7 to 1. The factory manufactures dresses and waists.

Rosa is now a short, rather stocky young girl, with somber eyes and a manner of great reserve. She is nicely dressed, and her hair is becomingly arranged. She has not many clothes, however. She has been home a month, and has written to the institution that she is not happy. When visited she said that she was going to see the justice that afternoon, and talk with him, for she was not satisfied. The justice says that he thinks the trouble is that they do not give her enough to spend; that she turns in all her wages, and feels that she should have more back for spending money. He says that when she came out of the home her father spent as much as \$12 buying her clothes and that he probably feels that he should be reimbursed for this.

*Case 4.*—Rosa Mali is another Italian child, but her difficulty is of another type from that of the other Rosa. Her parents are both living; her home is less attractive than the other, and a large family of brothers and sisters is crowded into three rooms. She is the oldest of eight—two other girls and five boys. One of the boys, Tom, aged 16 now, is working as an unskilled laborer. Tom and Rosa were born in Italy, their father having been married while on a visit. He has been in this country altogether 28 years; his wife 12. He is a day laborer.

One day when Rosa was 14 years old she ran away with a boarder in the home, who took her out West. A letter soon came from Rosa which said that she knew she had done wrong in leaving home without saying good-by to her mother, but that wages were better out there and she would be contented and happy if they let her stay. The chief of police was immediately telegraphed to, and Rosa and the man taken into custody. They had not been married. The man, only 19, was later indicted by the grand jury, pleaded guilty, and

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where she lives do not know her history and no one in M knows where she is. She was lonesome at first, but now knows many girls and seems contented.

*Case 5.*—There was in M a baker's wagon, where light lunches were served, a most tempting place for boys, and on one occasion five boys broke into it, late at night. They were brought before the justice, but there was not sufficient evidence, he says, to do anything about it, and besides, he thought it a harmless prank. Were this the only charge against the boys, the case would not be significant. A week later, the same crowd was up again, with the exception of one boy who seems to have been along more by accident than intent, this time because they cut the wire leading from the fire house, where a dance was going on, to the main feed wire. They were given a sentence of 30 days (in jail, the justice says, though none of them was over 16). But the sentence was suspended, and they were "paroled" in the custody of the officer (which means the justice, in reality) for six months. They were not to be out after 7 o'clock in the evening.

These two pranks coming closely one after the other are the only things that these boys have done that has brought them before the justice. Their participation is important, however, because of their later record.

One boy, John Mallon, is the youngest of the three children of a widow who has lived in M for 8 or 10 years. He has a sister about 25, a brother about 21, and he is now 16. The sister is well known about M, and has an illegitimate child about 5 years old. The brother is a drug fiend. The mother is "nice," the village people say, but weak and not able to control her family; her husband died when John was scarcely 4.

Not long ago the proprietor of a very unsavory road house was murdered; one of the women present was induced to talk and tell who had been there that night; and among them were the Mallon children. The older brother disappeared and was under suspicion. Then the sister became frightened and told a tale to the effect that she knew her brother committed the crime and that John knew it, too. Both boys were arrested, but neither was convicted, owing to lack of corroborating evidence.

Neither boy had worked much; John had done some caddying. The justice says that John had been suspected of one or two robberies on the outskirts of the town in the past two years, but that nothing had ever been proved.

Another boy involved in the wire-cutting prank was Walter Schal, aged 14 at the time, who was living in the village with his aunt and uncle. He was never brought before the judge again. He was in school at the time and was very keen—the justice says the brains of

the crowd. But the principal said that he was absolutely the most mischievous boy in the school and his brightness only made him more difficult, so that finally after he had broken up a Christmas entertainment it was decided to expel him. The school board did not wish to do this openly and suggested that the principal give the boy his working papers instead, which was done. A teacher in the school, who had the boy in her class at the time he was expelled, said that he was the "most awful" boy she had ever had; but another, who said that the first teacher did not understand nor care for children, did not share this opinion. She thought that the boy was bright and keen and a pleasure to teach, if you "got on the right side of him"; that the real trouble was that he took a dislike to the other teacher and she to him, and that he did not make any effort to conceal his feelings. This teacher thought that it was a great mistake to send him from the school, for he would have graduated into the high school in the following June and was anxious to continue. His marks, in spite of his mischief, were always good. He went to the city to his father, his mother being dead, and has written to this teacher and to another that he liked, telling them that he was working as an electrician and going to night school. Others in the village called him a most likable boy, and though mischievous, not bad.

Two other boys involved in the two escapades were brothers, Italian boys, Tony and Joseph, of 15 and 13, whose father came to the village as a padrone and who also kept a saloon. Both the boys are now working in factories. The father has been before the grand jury once or twice, once in regard to a serious stabbing affair, but each time has come out free. The justice says that it was due to political influence, and also says that his saloon is not at all desirable; that each week end it becomes a disorderly house, and that it is soon to be raided. Tony, the older of the two boys, is big and looks strong but somewhat dissipated. Joseph, in marked contrast, is undersized, wizened, and appears like either a drug or cigarette fiend or a degenerate. A younger boy in this family has recently been involved in a sex difficulty at school, with other boys and girls. Tony says that they hope to send this boy to college and to give him a chance, and also says that he is always in at night by 8.30, and that he always does his home work before he goes out.

*Case 6.*—Edward Taylor, a colored boy, was committed by the justice to Industry, a school for delinquent children, as having "no home." The case is not properly a delinquent one. The record of the boy and his family is good, aside from the father's desertion of the children, which, it will be seen, was perhaps not intentional. The justice said that he committed the boy in order to get him away from M, where he had no home and no care, and was therefore in a position to become delinquent.

The father of this boy was a teamster in M, who, after the death of his wife, went to another State to work, leaving an Italian couple in charge of his children. The children were neglected, and a children's society and the judge both took the case in hand. The father was located and sent for; the justice fined him \$5 on each of two counts, for desertion and for cruelty to animals—he had left his horses, one of which later died. Shortly after the father's return he died of pneumonia. The justice sent for an uncle in another State, who, apparently attracted by the property which he believed the children had, took all three children to his home. So far as the story can be learned, this uncle became disappointed when he discovered that the children had little money, and owned only the shack in which the family had formerly lived. The two girls were sent to relatives in the South, whose address is not known.

Edward was worked so hard that he decided to come home to M. He lived in the old family shack or slept in woods or barns. He got work caddying, or was given other work or food by friends. Finally some of the townspeople who feared that he might become delinquent, and others who thought that no child should be wandering about as he was doing, appealed to a children's society and to the justice. The justice in a talk with the boy found that he seemed pleased at the prospect of going to Industry. Very likely the child was lonely and glad of the chance to have any sort of home.

*Case 7.*—Willie Schuler's family has always lived in the vicinity of M. His paternal grandfather was a German, a fine-looking man, but a heavy drinker; his grandmother was an Irish woman, with an uncontrollable temper. The boy's mother is Scotch, born in Canada; her father died when she was very young, and she was brought up by relatives, living in various spots in Canada. Mr. Schuler, a hod-carrier earning \$3.25 a day, works in a town in the upper part of the county, to which he commutes. At one time he drank heavily. Four years ago he improved in this particular, and at the present time seldom drinks to great excess. The justice was of the opinion that Schuler was not lively or ambitious enough for his wife. His wife says that he is very hard to control when his passions get loose, but that at all other times is very easy-going, and has never had any control over the boys. He turns over all his money to her, and she lets him keep about \$2 a week. Mrs. Schuler was remarkably frank in revealing her feelings toward her husband; she said that she only married him "to save her name," and that he amounted "only to three meals a day," which she would much rather earn herself. Mr. Schuler, unfortunately, could not be seen to give his version of the family situation. In the village his wife's opinion as to his lack of control over the boys is corroborated, but many persons think he is to be pitied in his wife.



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#### *Case 6.-*

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Joe reached the first year of high school; then he went to work on a construction job and later, on one of the estates near him, earned 50 cents a day as helper in a blacksmith shop. He also had caddied. He now sends all his money home to his mother, and she says that she has it in a postal savings bank.

The third child, a girl, now 14, is still in school. She sings in the church choir, and, out of school hours, takes care of children. She is an unattractive child, rather stupid, and unwholesome in appearance. She does poor work in school, but gives no trouble. It is the opinion of some of the mothers of the village that she is not a good influence for the other children. It was she who spread the tale among the children of an illegitimate birth in the town. One of the mothers said that this story was typical of the conversation which the child overheard at home, and added that Mrs. Schuler herself had done her best to give publicity to this incident.

The contradictory character of the mother of these children may perhaps be the result of thwarted ambition. She is of the type that highly values books and a piano, the outward symbols of a learning of which she feels she was deprived. She says—with appallingly bad grammar—that people would never know that she lacks an education, for she has picked things up by herself. However, she is probably correct in her opinion of the village. It is interesting to note, for example, that the man who complained for her to the children's society in regard to the presence of boys in the pool room also went on the pool room proprietor's bail, though he is the local truant officer.

*Case 8.*—Danny Hollorhan, a boy of 14, is now in the first year in high school and doing very good work. He is a boy who had a good record, both in deportment and scholarship, in the elementary school, and who is very well liked by all in the village, and yet he has committed a serious act of delinquency. It seems that the summer when Danny was 13, while all the boys were in swimming, in the pool in the river, he enticed away and assaulted a little Hungarian boy who lived near him. His younger brother reported this to his mother. The mother, Mrs. Kolak, did not wish to complain to the justice, but her brother made the complaint some time after the offense was committed. Both small boys told the same story, which the older boy, Danny, admitted. Mrs. Kolak said that she did not want the boy sent away, because he seemed very nice, though he had called her names because she did not speak very good English. She thought that this was probably, as he said, the first time he had done such a thing. The justice had the two families before him, at separate times, and then the boy was out of town a while; no one could tell where. Then he came back and nothing further was done.

The justice says that the boy had always been very good until this happened. He tried to do the best thing in the case and decided that it would be a mistake to put Danny in an institution. So after thinking it over, he put him on probation to himself for six months and had him report.

The woman who first told the investigator about the case said that the Hollorhan boy was not to blame, that he had been taught these things by older boys and men in the town, who carried on such practices. The father of the Hungarian boy said that the boys learned such things at the swimming pool, and also heard the older ones talking about them at the drug store corner.

The Kolak family lives in a very nice, clean apartment, with a victrola, good furniture, and plenty of room. The man is a chauffeur and has always lived in the United States since he was a very small child. They have four children, all boys, of which the one involved in this was the oldest. They are all well behaved and seem well cared for. Mrs. Kolak is a distinctly capable and attractive woman, with good sense and balance, and her moderation in speaking of the other family was marked.

The Hollorhan family lives in four rooms back of their butcher and grocery shop. The mother keeps the shop and the father is a day laborer and gardener. Until recently they lived in two rooms. There are six children, four boys and two girls, of whom Danny is the oldest. The children do not receive a great deal of care from their parents, for they are too busy working, but aside from being rather mischievous in such matters as calling names and bothering other children, they are not bad. Danny likes his books and does well in school, but never played baseball because he was too little. Both parents are Irish, and have lived here 17 and 19 years, respectively. They call the Kolak family "foreigners," but Mrs. Kolak says that they are just as much Americans as any one, and is more amused than angry at being called foreign.

*Case 9.*—The family of Margaret McCann lived on a street toward the outskirts of the village. Her parents were both born abroad—the father in Ireland and the mother in Sweden—but they have been in this country for 25 years and have lived around most of the time. Mrs. McCann was a servant in a large town before her marriage. Mr. McCann is a carpenter, and gets good wages when he works, but has been out of work much of this year. Besides Margaret, there are three boys aged 7, 17, and 19. Margaret is 16. The house is somewhat shabby, the kitchen very dirty, the mother slatternly-looking; she has a rather pretty and sad face and a gentle voice.

Margaret was in school when the principal discovered that she was pregnant, and felt that he had to ask her to leave. Mrs. McCann

says that she had no suspicion of her daughter's condition until she took her to the doctor; that her daughter was only 14 and did not herself understand. The boy who was responsible had been coming to the house for two years, and had taken her out with the other girls. If Mrs. McCann had known in time she would have concealed the situation. She said that other girls had gone to the midwife and prevented trouble. Mr. McCann tried to make the boy, who was about 17 and not working regularly, marry the girl, but he said that he would rather go to jail. Her parents regret that they did not bring an action against him, for he is still loafing around the town. Margaret was sent to her mother's relatives in the West, where the child, a boy, was born. He was taken away from her and she does not know now where he is. Margaret is still in the West, working now in a factory, where she makes \$6 or more a week. She worked for a while at domestic service, and gave great satisfaction.

Mrs. McCann says that the children used to go out in the evening, that Margaret's best friend was a very quiet girl, and that they were always together. Mrs. McCann's strongest feeling in regard to her daughter seemed to be a regret that she, of all the girls in the village who had been similarly situated, was the one of whom everyone knew.

*Case 10.*—During the past month there came to the M school from a larger town a 12-year-old girl called Teenie. She had lived with her stepmother, and had now come to M to be with a married sister. Shortly after her arrival the school building began to be marked with obscene writing, and, though there was no proof against her, Teenie was suspected. Shortly afterwards a number of children were found in the woods one night by the village constable, Teenie being among them. On several other occasions suspicious actions on the part of the children were noted. Teenie was always in the center of the trouble. The puzzling element in this situation is that both the principal and the teacher in the school she formerly attended said that she had had an excellent rating in deportment and had done good work.

One other M child involved in this was a Buch girl, who, at 14, is in the fourth grade, having been promoted each time only because she had been two years in the grade below.

The principal is firm in the belief that this is the first happening of the kind in the school. Nevertheless, two facts are certain; the children of the school even before Teenie came had knowledge beyond their years and the teachers do not seem to know how to deal with the situation. The principal said that the girls had "confessed" to one of the teachers who as a matter of fact knows very little about the matter. She feels that something should be done, but does not feel that there is any responsibility resting upon her to talk with the mothers, though some of the children are in her

room. She has taught in the school six years, but is in M only during school hours, boarding in the neighboring large town, and says that she does not know more than five or six families, and does not know these at all well; she does not care to know them. This teacher has felt her responsibility to the extent of having some other child always detailed to play with the so-called feeble-minded Buch child at lunch time, and watch her, for the teacher feels that the girl is not a good influence upon the little children with whom she plays.

*Case 11.*—Helen and Lena Buch, aged, respectively, 18 and 14, have a very bad inheritance. On the mother's side of the family there is a record of feeble-mindedness and illegitimacy. The family on the father's side is still worse; the record shows immorality and drunkenness. The mother of the girls died of tuberculosis after a life of hard work, and the children live with their maternal grandparents. The grandfather's means of livelihood consist of collecting garbage and keeping pigs; the grandmother works out by the day. The grandparents practically support the children. The father, who is also a member of the household, works for the grandfather in part payment for the board of the children.

There is no actual proof of improper conduct on the part of Helen and Lena. The only accusation of this has come from their grandfather. This was not substantiated. There is a feeling, however, that things are not quite right with the girls.

The older, Helen, is a very fine-looking child, straight and tall, with a good face. Though her grandfather says that she is lazy, the house looked fairly neat, and she attends to most of the house-keeping. She has no friends near at hand, but she goes to church and has met a few girls there. Lena is a freckled-faced and sandy-haired child, rather a tomboy. She has a very nice school garden, which she showed the visitor. Both girls have gone to the summer classes to which reference has previously been made, and they spoke proudly of the knowledge of cooking they had gained, and of their sewing plans for the summer. Certainly these girls would profit by wise guidance.

### COMMUNITY N.

This is a sparsely settled farming district, in level country, surrounding a good sized town of about 4,000 inhabitants which is not included in the study. The little community groups in this district feel the effects of this proximity to a large town to their detriment.

The town has taken their vitality without giving anything in return. For example, one little village which consists of a group of 15 or 20 houses once had a flourishing church; now this church, although it has a large building, has a membership of four. This is a

church which permits no church socials, and this policy has not aided it in its struggle for existence. The town is nearly 7 miles away, but those who wish to go to church travel all that distance to do so.

And the district school in the same little village has an enrollment of only six rather small children. This village is so dead that even the blacksmith can not make a living and is looking for work in the town. In this particular little hamlet no juvenile delinquency was found, though there were a number of adults notorious for a blend of immorality and feeble-mindedness. In other parts of the district were found the following cases:

*Cases 1, 2, and 3.*—The Rothman household has until recently included Mrs. Rothman's illegitimate daughter Anna and her husband, Mrs. Rothman's son by a previous marriage, and a young man friend of his, whom we may call Spencer.

Mrs. Rothman is 40 years old and tubercular, but it is she who attracts various young men to the house. Mr. Rothman is industrious and not a drinker, but he is dominated by his wife. The house is offensively dirty.

The Rothmans are tenant farmers, which means that Mr. Rothman receives, in return for continuous labor the year round for a rich farmer, the rent of a small and very uncomfortable house, \$250 in cash, the use of a horse and buggy, two quarts of milk a day, and enough potatoes and other common vegetables for the family's annual consumption.

Young Spencer came into the household a few years ago ostensibly as the friend of Mrs. Rothman's son Peter. Both Spencer and Peter were then under 16. Spencer had previously lived with his parents on a near-by farm, but he was an unruly boy and would not stay at home.

Then Spencer went to the city and worked as a messenger boy in one of the large stores. Meantime his family moved away from N. They belonged to the nomadic tenant-farmer class.

When these boys were 16 and when Spencer was working in the city he is said to have stolen from his firm and to have barely escaped being discharged. That he was of a thieving tendency may be inferred from the following incident: One summer night he came out from the city on a late trolley and joined Peter, who had elected to sleep out of doors that night. The two boys then rode on Anna's bicycle to a town 7 or 8 miles away. On the way their wheel broke down; so they stopped at a farmhouse where they were acquainted, stole part of a bicycle there with which to repair their own wheel, and continued on their way. Arriving in town they burglarized a grocery store, were detected, arrested, and sentenced to four months in the county jail. After serving this time in jail Spencer disappeared

and for two years no one has had any knowledge of his whereabouts; Peter went to live with relatives in a distant part of the State, and what his life may be is not known.

When Anna was 16 years old she was a freshman in the high school, which is in a town about 4 miles distant from the Rothman farm. She had been kept out of school a great deal and was one of the very few cases which the attendance officer had acted upon. Her parents had been threatened with prosecution if her attendance did not improve, but nothing further was done about it.

She had been in the high school only a little over a month when the principal learned that she was about to bear a child, and she was expelled from school. The father of her child was a young man of 21 years whom Mrs. Rothman, as she expressed it, had "made one of her family."

This young man comes of a hard-working, hard-drinking family of men of great physical strength and endurance. He was driven out of his home at the age of 16 to earn his own living and worked for various farmers. Sometimes when he was out of work kindly neighbors had sheltered him, and sometimes he had slept in barns and lived the life of a vagrant. Finally he found himself living with the Rothmans and the father of Anna's child. Like all his family he was a heavy drinker, and at about the time his child was born he is said to have become partially insane as the result of various excesses.

A marriage soon followed the birth of the child, and both he and his wife continued to live with the Rothmans. Then Mrs. Rothman took legal advice and actually succeeded in getting the marriage annulled on the ground that her daughter was under age. The man was driven from the house and went to a near-by town and obtained work as a section hand.

But he was revenged, for he eloped with his wife, and they are now living happily in the town where he has work. It is said that he has stopped drinking. Mrs. Rothman still has possession of the child.

*Case 4.*—The case of Kenneth Parsons, a 17-year-old boy, is an argument for the raising of the age limit of juvenile delinquency to 18 at the least.

Kenneth is possibly feeble-minded, though his apparent abnormality may be merely the result of his unhappy life on a lonesome little farm, 8 miles from the village. His own father died when he was 14, and his mother was remarried within 6 months to a man who vented an ugly temper on the boy. He has been known to string Kenneth up by the thumbs to a beam in the barn so that his toes barely touched the floor and then beat him. The mother has been known to pound him on the head with the stove handle.

Kenneth has never even learned to tell the time of day by the clock because no one seems to have tried to teach him. He was very irregular at school and had finished only the fourth grade at the age of 16....

During the last two years Kenneth has absented himself from home as much as possible. He has worked out on farms and is considered a good worker, but has always been in trouble over his wages because his stepfather has made a practice of taking the money away from him. Recently Kenneth, who has become a big, husky fellow during the last year, knocked his stepfather down in a fight they were having over some such matter, and since that day he has not been welcome at home. Now the stepfather is trying to persuade the justice to commit him to Randalls Island.

Another way in which this stepfather caused the boy trouble was to take him away from farmers for whom he was working, just when these farmers needed him most in the rush seasons, and put him to work on his own crops which needed attention. For this reason some farmers refuse to employ Kenneth, who is himself ready and willing to work.

Kenneth has never had the companionship of other boys of his own age because there are so few children in this corner of the town. He has associated with those from 20 to 30 years old, many of them degenerates and drinkers. He has been seen the worse for hard cider which these men have given him.

There have been times when Kenneth has lived in a shack in the swamps and slept on the frozen ground in winter because he had quarreled with his stepfather and been driven out of his home by him. Fortunately for the boy, he has the physique which can endure this sort of thing. He is in great danger of becoming a regular vagrant, for he is forming the habit of tramping all over the town and sleeping almost anywhere. He is wretchedly dirty and unshaven and looks like a ragged wild man.

About a year ago, when he was 16, this boy went into a neighbor's kitchen and found the trousers of the man of the house hanging over a chair beside the stove and took a \$10 bill and some loose change from the pockets. The theft was detected at once, the culprit suspected and forced to confess, and the money recaptured. No action was taken in this matter, but the stepfather thinks that the boy ought to be sent to Randalls Island.

Soon after this Kenneth was arrested on the complaint of his mother that he had stolen a gun. The gun in question had belonged to his father and had been left in trust to the mother for the boy. It was kept in a trunk in the attic and Kenneth was to have had it at the age of 18. He found it hard to wait, so in his mother's absence he appropriated the gun. The justice who held the hearing forbade



Kenneth to carry the gun, and his mother, to make doubly sure, sold the gun to a neighbor and kept the money herself.

When Kenneth was 17 he was arrested for stealing a bicycle. Kenneth had been accustomed to borrowing or hiring this wheel whenever he wished from the owner, one of his disreputable cronies. He is a vicious, irresponsible, drunken fellow who has had a bad influence over the boy. One day Kenneth wished to use the wheel, and, not finding the owner at home, took the wheel from the shed and rode off on it. He kept it overnight and returned it the next morning. Meantime the man had come back drunk and, becoming very angry at the disappearance of his wheel, swore out a warrant for Kenneth's arrest. Kenneth was taken to town, 8 miles away, and locked up overnight in the village cooler, was tried by the justice of the peace the next morning, and put on parole to the constable. The justice contemplated sending him to Randalls Island, but did not do so largely, it seems, because of his lack of information as to the requirements of the law regarding the various institutions for minors.

After Christmas time Kenneth committed another offense by taking a few slices of salt pork or ham from the family larder, for the purpose of taking these things as a Christmas present to an uncle in an adjoining town whom he was about to visit. On his return home a few days later his stepfather caused his rearrest.

The justice was now determined to send the boy to Randalls Island, but before he made the final decision a new justice took office. This justice refused to hear the case on a warrant issued by the ex-justice, and also refused to issue a new warrant, and thus the case was dropped and the boy released.

All these events have not been without their psychological effect upon the boy. Three different arrests, two different nights in the lockup, and once on probation to the constable, and, as the boy says, "all for nuthin'," are enough to make him distrustful of all law and order.

*Case 5.*—The father of Ed Leroy was a prosperous farmer, but with an unsavory reputation; his mother and sister were women of untarnished reputation.

When the boy was 16 he eloped with a girl from a neighboring farm and went out West with her. His parents pursued and brought the couple back to N, where they were separated. The boy was said to have been very angry and to have vowed that his parents would be very sorry for their action.

Afterwards, before he was 18 years old, he eloped with two other girls whom he later abandoned.

Among other disgraceful episodes he maintained a negro woman for several weeks in one of his father's barns. He married before he was 20, and later abandoned his wife.

In the summer of 19— he was living, on the outskirts of the city, with a woman whom he had lured away from her husband. At the same time he began to show some attention to a young girl whom he chanced to meet, with the result that the older woman, in a fit of jealous rage, killed him with his own revolver.

*Cases 6 and 7.*—Ida and Rose Patten fell early under the worst of influences. When respectively 9 and 11 their mother died and they went to live with their maternal grandmother. She is a good, though a very ignorant woman, and her influence might have kept the girls on the right path had it not been for other conditions. The girls have two half brothers; one of these married a notorious woman from a near-by city and came with her to live at the grandmother's. The father is a drunkard; so also is an uncle—and they, too, lived in the grandmother's house. The little girls heard, saw, and learned everything that was bestial.

In the course of time the brother divorced his wife, but she did not leave town for three years, and during this time, until the girls were 14 and 16, they were constantly with her. In the course of time they left their grandmother and went to live with their father. Here they were absolutely free to do exactly as they chose; and as a consequence kept open house for all the young reprobates of the surrounding country. They have now left home. Ida is working in a near-by town as a domestic servant. Rose, the older and more decent of the two, is said to be keeping house for her grandmother, who has become very feeble.

Both girls are vivacious and seem to be of normal mentality. Rose even attended the high school for two years, and did very good work. They come from a very bright family. Under different influences it can not be doubted that they would have grown up self-respecting young women.

*Case 8.*—Emily Seaver was 16 when she had an illegitimate child. She is apparently a normal girl mentally, and is spoken of as quiet and well behaved. She is, moreover, unusually attractive, and a man of 40, living in the family where she worked as a domestic, wished to marry her. Her parents refused to give their consent, but he ultimately gained it by first disgracing the girl.

Her parents had no particular reason for their feeling of superiority. They represent the run-out pioneer stock of the town. Mr. Seaver is a casual laborer about the town. Ten years ago, when the children were all small, he was convicted of bastardy and spent five months in the county jail. After that Mrs. Seaver left him for a time, but economic pressure seems to have forced her back to him. He is not of much help, however, for he is drunk most of the time, and the family is always near starvation.

Emily was the oldest child, so, as soon as she had finished the required schooling, she went as a domestic into the family of a wealthy farmer named Schroeder. It was the farmer's son William, a widower living at his father's home, who was the father of her child.

His history is not all that it might be. William and some cousins had a share in a drunken spree in which a man was killed. As a result, one of the cousins has been serving a 20-year sentence for second-degree manslaughter. For some reason William escaped punishment.

*Cases 9 and 10.*—Jim Harper and his sister Nellie are now respectively 17 and 19 years old, but they have been delinquent for several years past.

When Nellie was 16 she became the mother of an illegitimate child. A forced marriage followed to a man 25 years old, a thorough rascal, who has since then been conspicuous as a constant admirer of Ida Patten, the younger of the Patten sisters of a previous record.

Nellie Harper was a normally bright girl, very lively and very good looking, but wholly without home training. Mrs. Harper, the mother, was a coarse-grained, coarse-mouthed virago type of woman. Mrs. Harper comes from a lawless family and has two brothers who have both "done time," one 6 months for larceny, and the other 14 years for rape.

Mr. Harper is a highly excitable type of man whose favorite insult is to order persons "off his land." He is an English immigrant of 20 years standing, having been a gardener in the old country, and the actual ownership of land has somewhat gone to his head. He is, however, a hard-working and prosperous farmer and owns a farm on which stands a large, old-fashioned house, only a few back rooms of which are used by the family.

Nellie has gone to live with her husband's family in an adjoining county, but they are drunken, dissolute people and Nellie would have done almost better to have remained with her child in her own home. She was probably a comparatively innocent victim of the man's degeneracy and her own mother's careless vulgarity.

Jim and Nellie have an older married brother who lives at home with his wife. He is said to be somewhat feeble-minded and to be unable to maintain a home of his own. He seldom leaves the farm. He has no children.

If there is a feeble-minded strain in these children, Jim shows it only by unruly lawlessness. He resembles his mother in his blatant, vociferous self-assertion, as he also resembles her physically, and is a neighborhood nuisance. Farmers are forced to keep their barns locked in order to keep him out. Unlike the majority of delinquent boys, this young man of 17 seems to enjoy a mean disposition.

About a year ago he shot a neighbor's hog in revenge for the neighbor's act in running over his dog, a pure accident due to the dog's own fault. Two years ago Jim stole a dog in the town 5 miles distant. Through the constable as intermediary Jim's father settled this affair by paying \$5 to the owner of the dog. The question of the hog shooting is still in dispute.

Some time ago he entered a neighbor's barn and stole a gun. The evidence was strong against him because he was seen prowling about the barn and later the gun had disappeared. He disposed of the gun successfully, however, and it was never found in his possession. In a similar manner he stole another farmer's saw, but no action was taken against him for the saw could never be found.

Last summer in the neighboring town a boy, two years younger than Jim, was convicted of setting fires and was committed to Industry. In his confession he stated that Jim had been his accomplice. Jim's parents, however, proved an alibi.

His latest escapade has been more serious for him. He was accused of stealing skunk skins, valued at \$25 from another boy with whom he had been trapping. The skins were actually found in his possession and testimony was given that he had offered them for sale. An order was issued that the skins be returned to their owner, but no further punishment seems to have been contemplated.

In addition to this tendency to larceny, Jim has shown bad blood in other ways. The parents of this boy dragged him from Mrs. Rothman's house at 1 o'clock in the morning.

Another habit of this boy is to disappear periodically for a few months at a time, usually when he has been accused of some delinquency. It is not known where he goes at these times nor what he does.

Although this boy is 17 years old his behavior is of the juvenile type and he ought to be under the jurisdiction of a juvenile court.

### COMMUNITY O.

O is a stopping place among the hills, of only 200 inhabitants, and has not much individuality as a village. The trolley stops there and the railroad furnishes shipping facilities for considerable farm produce. A rug factory employs 2 or 3 women and 8 or 10 men. There are two stores and two white-steepled churches. The young people, what few there are, go to other towns for amusement. The school is rather above the average, for both teachers have had many years' experience, and the trustees are interested in fixing up the schoolhouse.

To this little settlement came to live the mother of the lad whose story is given below.

*Case 1.*—Martin Spiegel's father, a storekeeper in another State, died before Martin was born. His money, all but \$300, went to his daughter by a former marriage, so Mrs. Spiegel put the two older children in a home. Here they were punished so severely that the older one died, and one boy's arm was so injured that he still has trouble with it. Despite this terrible experience Martin was also placed in the home. Mrs. Spiegel meanwhile married a man by whom she had two children, both of whom have been adopted into other homes. Martin was bound out at 7 years of age to a farmer who beat him so badly that he ran away to a relative. This relative "booted" him, so he took \$2.50 that he had saved and came up to O when he was 12 years old.

His mother by this time had married a man much her senior and settled in O. She says that this poor old man has supported Martin since he was 12 years old, but Martin has worked on several farms around, and she has always busied herself collecting his wages.

When Martin attended school here he was in the fifth grade at the age of 13; and the teacher used to punish him severely—knocking him down—because he was stubborn and said "I dunno" to all questions. Afterwards he did better. In arithmetic, which he liked, he recited well, but he had no memory. The teacher did not consider him stupid nor abnormal; he passed all his grade examinations, except spelling, with good marks. The next year he left and went to a near-by settlement, where he worked on a farm for his board and clothes.

The neighborhood he went to is merely a cluster of half a dozen farmhouses at a trolley stop. The nearest neighboring towns are only a mile or so distant, and the people depend upon them for church and social life, but a bound-out farmer's boy of 14, who could not go and come freely must have found life here anything but interesting or attractive.

The school-teacher did not like to have Martin associate with the little girls, owing to improper remarks of his which they reported. She felt that the boy needed such teaching in the matter of sex as a good father would have given him; she herself was unable to meet his need of guidance. The wife of Martin's employer said that the boy had very bad personal habits and that she regarded him as "lacking." One very serious offense the boy attempted. He coaxed a little 4-year-old girl into a ravine in the neighborhood. The child's mother heard a scream, and, missing her little girl, ran to the ravine. The child had been handled roughly, but, fortunately, not actually injured. The mother complained and took the boy before the justice, who discharged Martin with a warning, though he has talked to him more than once since at his mother's request.

Martin has done nothing of this sort since, so far as could be learned. He returned to O, where he again attended school through the winter, working at a neighboring farmer's for his board. The teacher says of him at this time, that he was as strange a person as she ever knew; like a little old man, for he would not play with other children, but just stood around. She could not get anything out of him in recitations, nor could he commit anything to memory, but he was good in written work.

The last of April Martin got his working papers and began to work for \$8 a month and board with the farmer with whom he had been staying. At first he was good and worked well, and the farmer's wife tried to make something of him, but she came to the conclusion there was nothing to work on. Her young daughter treated him well too, though none of the young people would ever have anything to do with him. At first he did not smoke, for the farmer and his wife told him he must not, but he began again, and told his mother that he had to smoke to keep up his strength, because the haying was so hard. After a while he abused his privileges, began to misuse the horses and cattle, and acted badly in general.

Then they had trouble about his pay. His mother, Mrs. Jaynes, insisted on having all the money, and Martin wanted 50 cents a week to spend. His employer thought of getting another guardian appointed for the boy, but he found out through the justice that it would be too much trouble. He went home one night with Martin in an attempt to find out whom to pay, and the stepfather, Mr. Jaynes, got angry and threatened to shoot the boy. Mrs. Jaynes cares only for Martin's money, and he hates her; "she isn't like other folks—you don't know her," he says.

Then he left this place and went to work for a farmer away off on an isolated farm. This employer found him slow but faithful, and reported that he worked all right if left to himself. He received his board and \$15 a month, which his mother insisted on having paid to her.

When winter came on, Martin returned home, and has had trouble with his mother ever since. For over a month he has worked in a near-by town loading wagons. The work is hard, unskilled labor, and he goes back and forth daily on the trolley. He receives \$10.60 a week, and wishes to keep the 60 cents for spending money, but his mother is determined to handle it all.

Twice the parents have turned Martin out in the cold at night: once, Mrs. Jaynes declares, because he struck her and Mr. Jaynes. The trouble was over his wages, some of which his mother thought he was holding back. On both occasions Martin went to the justice. The last time he was at the justice's house he cried "as if his heart

would break," and the justice sent him back to tell his mother that she must take him in.

Martin's present employment has no educational value, nor does it promise any future advancement, and he wishes to get away, but his mother holds on to him for the sake of his wages. He has now grown very handsome, and to the casual observer seems bright.

### COMMUNITY P.

The setting for the three following cases is the sparsely populated hill country back from a little village 13 miles by rail from a good-sized city. In this hill district are small and stony farms along the hill roads or in patches of clearing on the mountain side. The farmers make the barest kind of living; their mode of life is of the most primitive. Their children must travel 2 or 3 miles to the village to school—a difficult task in the winter. The church and its influences are equally remote. The following cases indicate what conditions may be expected in such a neighborhood.

*Case 1.*—George and Matilda were married and had 9 children in 18 years. The father was hard-working, heavy-minded, narrow-visioned, his whole thought and strength given to paying the mortgage on his hillside farm of 24 acres, and finishing the house which he had planned, raised, and partly completed with his own hands. He came of a respectable hard-working family, whose only vice was drink.

Matilda, the wife, came of mountain people. She must have been a very attractive girl, for at 38, after having borne 11 children, she is still lithe, slender, with an interesting face, and black, snapping eyes.

Apparently, the family lived the hard-working, narrow lives of the small hill-farm people until the death of the father. Attendance at church was irregular, but they lived at a distance from town. The children were regularly sent to school, and though they were not especially bright, managed to keep up with their classes. But since the death of the father, the mother attends questionable dances and merrymakings, which often turn into rowdiness. She sometimes leaves six little children at home alone, without any provision for food, for two or three days at a time.

Many men visit the mother; women of low character from the hills are visiting her most of the time; she has had two illegitimate children. For the first child she collected \$125 from the father; for the next she did not know on whom to make a claim.

In the five years since the father's death his children have developed into community burdens. The oldest son holds a job as farm hand with difficulty, because sooner or later he is suspected of being light-fingered. The next one died of neglected pneumonia, the doc-

tor not having been sent for till too late. The third son, two years after his father's death, when he was 14, got into so much mischief that the justice decided to send him to Randalls Island for the sake of discipline. A kind-hearted summer visitor intervened and paid the expenses of the boy at the George Junior Republic. The experience did him some good, for with his elder brother he now works on farms, but with some difficulty in holding a job.

The next son, when his father died, went to live with his uncle in a neighboring village. Here he has had much better family surroundings than at home, has attended school regularly, but has persistently failed to learn. The teacher says that he apparently pays attention, but that when asked a question about the work he seems to have no sense of what it means; but on the playground, or when talking of anything not connected with lessons, he is bright and quick. The boy is strong and well-grown.

The next two boys, 13 and 11, are in the third grade of the village school, to which they tramp a long, hilly mile and a half, carrying their lunch. They have been detected in picking up things about the schoolroom. When the mother is away they beg or steal from the neighbors. They are scrawny, bad colored, and limp, with hardly enough energy to get through the day. Shy and furtive while answering questions, they easily get frightened and cringe like dogs accustomed to being beaten. Their clothes are pick-ups, and unless the poor master happens to relent and give them another new pair of shoes, their feet are apt to be on the ground, or they will come to school in old arctics, in men's shoes, or in anything they can find or beg.

The only daughter, 8 years old, has never been in school. The mother was not obliged by law to send her until she was 8, and now is full of excuses, though the school authorities have been trying to have the child come. Her mother claims that it is too far and too dangerous for a little girl to travel on the country roads, though her two brothers go every day; that she has no clothes; that she needs the child at home; ending with promises that she will send her soon. The neighbors say that the child uses such vile language and teaches so many bad tricks that they will not let their little girls play with her and that she prefers to play with boys. She is as furtive as a little animal and runs and hides whenever a stranger comes near the house.

The three youngest children, two of them illegitimate, aged 6, 3, and 2, are scantily clothed, underfed, and brutally treated by the mother, who seems to have no affection for them.

The home of the family is an old shed, which has been boarded up over the uprights of the inside, and provided with a door and win-



dow at one end. In the front part are a bed, table, some broken chairs, a cook stove with stovepipe through the wall instead of a chimney, and no floor space left free. When the father died, the mother sold the place, which he had tried to earn, and put part of the money in the shed where they now live; the rest went for good times. Nominally she now lives by taking in washing and by what two older boys give her from their wages.

*Case 2.*—Both father and mother come from “no-account” families who have extraordinary records for shiftless, hand-to-mouth living, irregular marriages, drink, immorality, and general worthlessness. They have drifted around the country, living wherever they could without paying rent, getting an occasional day’s work, being helped by the poor master from time to time, and regularly adding to the family until there were six. When the family fortunes were so desperate that the neighbors could stand it no longer, the family was reported to the children’s society. The father had recently died of typhoid fever; the children had been sent home from school with the itch; the mother was already “running around” with men, sometimes going away and leaving the eldest girl, then 14, to look after the five smaller children; sometimes leaving them with her relatives; and in no way assuming any responsibilities for them. Sometimes when the mother was home, she would send the children to neighbors, saying they were starving, and could they please have something to take home. At that time they were living in a dilapidated house of one room, with wide cracks in the wall which let in the bitter winter weather.

A children’s society placed the three children aged 8, 10, and 11, in a children’s home. Later they were adopted.

This still left in the family the mother, a boy of 16, a girl of 14, and the baby 1 year old. The boy was at work on a farm getting wages of \$2.80 a week and his living, barely enough to keep himself in clothing, leaving the mother and girl to make a living for themselves and for the baby. The duty was assumed by the agent of the same society of looking out for this mother and daughter, both already enamoured of living in the easiest way. Then followed a long, trying experience of attempts to fit them into homes where they would be tolerated until they could be taught even the simple housekeeping which they had never done. Both mother and daughter are unusually attractive, and there seems to be no doubt of their continued immorality.

After two years of aimless drifting the mother has finally taken to living with a hard-working man of fair reputation, who keeps a stern eye on her and holds her to a regular, fairly decent life. She goes with him to husk corn, and to cut and pile when he is clearing woodland. Their home, while scantily furnished, is clean.

The small boy, now nearly 4 years old, is well fed and has good manners.

The mother talked freely of the life her daughter is leading; and of a long list of relations who are county charges—outcasts in every community where they live. Her life has always been associated with vice, and she talks of it as a commonplace.

The girl, now 16, is attractive but utterly irresponsible, steeped in vicious knowledge, a cigarette fiend, and by choice a companion of the worst possible associates. She has practically no education, because of the roving life of the family, but she is intelligent and capable. During her contact with the children's society she developed a strong affection for the agent and still goes to see her frequently. She had naturally a great fondness for children, and through this trait the agent hoped to get a hold on her, but with the girl's wandering life, it has largely been lost. The girl has grown very impatient of any kind of restraint and flits from one relative to another—stays a few days or weeks in the country, then flits away to the city. She declines every job that is offered because, as she says, she "can't bear to think of doing the same thing day after day."

*Case 3.*—The man with whom the mother in the above case is living has a boy at Industry, where he has been sent twice. After his first term, he was paroled to his father—not a wise course it would seem, for the father had already failed to control him.

But the father's story of the boy is this: The mother died when the boy was 3, and the two girls were only little things. He boarded them out with a family where he thought they would be well taken care of, and he worked as a farm hand to support them. They were never made to mind and grew up hard to manage. The boy is bright and was always "crazy about horses." The first time he was sent to Industry he had taken a horse and driven it off, but the owner got it back. For a while after his return home he did better, but later on, he went to a farm where he knew the people and where his father had once worked, stole a horse, and drove it to a city about 15 miles distant. He tried to sell it for \$20 and, since the horse was easily worth \$150, the police were suspicious. They let him go, and he drove it some 12 miles farther, and put it in the barn of a man whom he knew. Then the police arrested him and sent him back to Industry.

Letters from the boy are well written and very affectionate, though evidently prepared under supervision. The boy is very fond of the little child of the woman with whom his father is living.

It is a debatable question whether the father is a fit guardian for the boy. The neighboring farmer for whom he does day's work says that he is steady, competent, and intelligent. He is illiterate, went for a time under a name not his own, and now quarrels violently at times with the woman he has taken into his home. He makes a fair

income, sometimes taking jobs of wood clearing on his own account, and sometimes working as a farm laborer.

### COMMUNITY Q.

Though Q is only 4 miles from a city and only 2 miles from the trolley line, it has all the characteristics and the appearance of a rural community. The proximity of the city emphasizes the isolation of this little settlement. The narrow road between the hills seems to close behind you as you come to the slight widening of the valley where the store and the schoolhouse lie.

The schoolhouse, to the right and back of the store, looks quite imposing by comparison with the unpainted shacks which are the dwelling houses of the community. It is a pretty building, clean and white, with a flag gaily flying in front. Sunday school, started by a lady from town, has been held in the schoolhouse this autumn. But the membership dropped off, and the Sunday school was given up after a few meetings.

The day school offers eighth-grade work when anyone wishes it. Except for nature study twice a week and music, only the usual routine subjects are given, with no connection with life, as far as could be seen. Facts and mental drill are emphasized, and the scholars are good at mental arithmetic. The teacher is a girl of 19, successor to another young girl who could not manage the children last year. She likes the children and is friendly, but stern in old-fashioned discipline. There is nothing here to interest boys and girls from 14 to 16, unless they are preparing for high school, which the children here are generally not doing. The city vocational and high schools are accessible, but no pupils are inspired to seek further education.

Last autumn action was taken by the school in cases of children "staying out to work." As a result several boys obtained their school certificates in order that they might help on the farm in the busy seasons. These boys come back to school during the winter months, and make the teacher enough trouble almost to disorganize the school. The attendance is poor, but the children always bring excuses, and, though the teacher doubts their validity, she thinks she has no redress.

The hill farms are rather poor. Farther over is a wonderful patch of huckleberries, which covers about 200 acres back on the hills, and many families add very materially to their income while some few of the lazy ones live entirely by berrying. Farming and berrying are the only industries. The children work on the farms a good deal. In the school there has been much trouble about irregular attendance because the parents keep their children out to pick up potatoes and to do other farm work. Several men live here for the

sake of being out in the country, and drive in every day to work in the city. Some men go to the city for occasional "sprees."

Both in the community and in the school there has been trouble with the Rankins and the Platts. The boys will steal things out of the store unless watched; they threw stockings in the pork brine once; they stole three pairs of mittens; they smeared lard on the counters and on the storekeeper's coat.

*Case 1.*—Orville Rankin, aged 13, slipped a pair of suspenders into his pocket one day. The storekeeper, finding it out, chased the boy across a field, caught him and made him give up the suspenders. Orville is a truant. Where he formerly lived, he had not attended school regularly for several years. He lives around everywhere—sometimes with a man named Tom Blagden, sometimes with his father. His mother is dead, and his father and brother are living temporarily in a shack "up the Hollow." He is in the third grade only, and is queer and stupid.

*Case 2.*—Harry Platt, now 17 years old, was once up before the justice for stealing a bicycle. The family says he only "borrowed" the wheel. He was arrested, pleaded guilty at the trial, and was put on probation for three months to the justice. Since this he has "borrowed" another bicycle, but the consensus of opinion is that he did not intend to steal it. The owner got the bicycle back, and the boy was not arrested. More recently he stole a can of salmon from the store and made the mistake of bragging about it. The storekeeper heard of it and threatened him with the reform school unless he paid 50 cents for it, which he did.

In school he had a bad influence upon the other children. He and Roland Rankin, for example, taught all the boys, even the small ones, to smoke. He left when in the third grade, because he was too big to go any longer. He did not like school at all.

The Platts have never been equaled for shiftlessness. "Long Tom," as the father is called, was left a good farm, good dairy cows, a team, and \$500 when his father died. He comes from a good family, and his sisters are well spoken of. But "Long Tom," himself, is so lazy and drunken that he has let the place go to complete ruin. He has sold off 40 acres of land, and all the animals are gone. Nothing is left except a tumble-down shanty and a dilapidated barn. Though there is a good piece of woodland, and three able-bodied men folk at home, they tear the siding off the house for fuel.

The shack has two rooms and a loft. At the time of the visit the kitchen was very dirty; even the packing paper on the walls was grimy. The furniture consisted of one chair, a stove, a table, a stool, and the wood box which "Long Tom" occupied. A heap of dirty rags lay beside the stove, and on this sat two of the children—boys

of 4 and 5. They probably sleep there. The stove was rusty, and dirty dishes and remnants of food littered the table.

The children were ragged and dirty. Neighbors say they go barefooted throughout the winter. One had on a pair of woman's shoes, both for the same foot. The two little boys and the third, about 2 years old, seemed like little animals. They said not a word, did not play or move, but just stared with round, beady brown eyes.

"Long Tom" is intelligent and looks well bred, but he uses all his money for drink. He lies drunk along the road many a night. In the summer the family picks berries, at least the rest of them do; he is too lazy for even this effort. Yet he is not too far gone to feel his failure. The father has urged Harry to continue school, for he believes in education; but the children disliked the teacher last year, and Harry felt himself too big to go.

The older sons have also a reputation for shiftlessness. A neighbor said he would not board one of them a day for what he would do in a month.

The mother is called "simple." Even when her husband gives her money, or when she has money from selling berries, she will let him get it away from her when he is drinking. Then she follows him along the road and cares for him when he is too drunk to know anything. The older daughters are said to be well married. A younger girl lives with her sister. There are 11 children—5 girls and 6 boys—in all.

Harry is not living at home at present; he works by the day on different farms, sleeps in the barns at night, and is a "regular tramp." His father says some of the farmers do not pay him. In the autumn he was working regularly at James Rankin's, but Mrs. Rankin has fought against his staying, for she fears his influence on the younger children. There, too, he sleeps in the barn, which is probably cleaner than his home. He does everything—chores, picking up potatoes, chopping wood—and earns from \$1 to \$2 a day. His work is irregular, for he can usually get a job only three or four days a week. There is certainly nothing stimulating about his association with hired men and uneducated farmers. He learns at best a little of shiftless farming. He goes out nights with older men, such as Tom Blagden, and he hunts a good deal. Altogether his situation is rather hopeless.

*Case 3.*—Roland Rankin is the 15-year-old son of the Rankins for whom Harry works. Besides being connected with the disturbances in school and "cutting up" in the store, he has been in two scrapes by himself. He stoned a horse and its driver, for which he was punished by his father, and he bought some seeds at the store and did not pay the clerk. Later he brought the seeds back, saying that

they were not right, and got the money for the return. The storekeeper made the father pay for them. Roland told the other boys at school that he would have to go to jail if the seeds were not paid for, so the boys stole eggs from the henhouses around and sold them to the storekeeper to get money for Roland.

Although the Rankins are a well-to-do farmer family, they live in an old, unpainted, wooden shack. Mr. and Mrs. Rankin and their seven children, of whom Donald is the oldest, live in two rooms, a loft, and a pantry. For 26 years they have lived in this apology for a house, but they have two good, sizable barns.

Mr. Rankin owns a good hill farm of about 200 acres, besides renting 25 acres for cash and working 40 acres on shares. He claims to be a self-made man—to have begun as a day laborer and to have earned all he has. A neighbor told the investigator, however, that his father left him money.

Mrs. Rankin has all the *savoir faire* of a city-bred woman and dresses well. She is an attractive, lively little woman with a great deal of "go." How she could have retained any vitality after having had such a large family, and with 26 years of keeping house and making butter besides, is a question. She pays to have the washing done for her, but aside from this she has no assistance.

There are four older children who work in the city at good wages. Mrs. Rankin has never had any trouble with the children; they are all decent, she says. She was brought up strictly, not to believe in card playing, and she talks to her children to make them behave.

Mr. Rankin is a typical, husky farmer. In his pursuit of money he has overlooked the welfare of his children. Two of his older sons left him when he needed them on the farm—Fred because he was not paid enough and because he could not have a horse to drive; Donald because he wanted a change. Therefore, he was forced to hire Tom Blagden, a good-for-nothing, drinking man. He pays him \$18 a month. Tom, with his wife and children, lives in a miserable little shanty some way beyond the Rankin farm. His house seems to be a sort of recreation center, where the boys go to play euchre. Fred thinks it would have been better if their mother had let them play at home.

Because of the desertion of the older boys, Mr. Rankin has needed Roland on the farm. When he has to go away there is no one to leave, except Roland, so he had to stay out of school a great deal, and as this made trouble about money he got his working papers. His parents think that an education is necessary, and his mother would like to have him continue school. He is in the sixth grade and gets along all right, but dislikes school. He has returned to school this winter after being out six weeks to work. He worked all day with the hired man and Harry Platt. They had a good,

sociable time together, and one can hardly blame him for preferring it to school, but the associations are no better for him than for Harry.

### COMMUNITY R.

This is a little hill settlement, reached by a tedious climb up a winding road. About 25 houses, 3 saloons, a district school, and a mission church straggle along the mile of village street. The dominant note is struck by the saloons, for to them come regularly to join the villagers the hill people for many miles around. Men and women drink together at the bars or stagger home with their full bottles. Children learn the taste of liquor with their mother's milk, and hardly walk before their stray pennies are spent for chewing tobacco.

It is 6 long miles to the railway station, down one long hill and up another, hence visits to larger towns or cities are rare.

The majority of these families of this neighborhood never have more than a few dollars at a time, with a yearly income in many cases of less than \$100. The men do an occasional day's work cutting timber or brush, hauling wood to market, or at farm labor for a farmer in the valley.

The district school enrolls 26 children. Many of them come from the isolated farms along wood roads, which are impassable after heavy storms or when the snow lies deep. They attend irregularly and carelessly, and the threats of the truant officer are given indifferent consideration. In the estimation of the community education or lack of it has little to do with the problem of making a living. From the teaching side the school can be endured only by a young teacher seeking the year's experience which will help her to get a better place. She usually mitigates existence during the ordeal by staying as little as possible at school or in the village. Many of the children under her charge are of low mentality, with a prejudice copied from their elders against the restrictions of the school; they are wise in vice and skillful in petty meanness and they are undernourished. Often they walk the long miles to school and make their luncheon on such unsuitable fare as cold buckwheat cakes, stuck together with cold pork grease.

At the mission church, erected as a joint venture of the more prosperous churches around, services are held by ministers of various denominations—generally twice a month, when the weather is not too bad to make the long drive. Sparsely attended, these services bring a scant measure of religion into the lives of the people. The ministers drive the long, hard miles into the hills when death comes or when, more rarely, some man and woman decide to marry before living together. Sometimes the doctor is the only moral influence with

which the family ever comes in contact. On the isolated farms in the one-room shacks birth, death, sickness, the brutalities of intoxication, and the intimacies of sex relations are the common experiences of all the members of the family from the toddler to the grandparent.

Following are the cases found here:

*Case 1.*—At one end of the long village street lives the Marsh family, consisting of a father and three boys, 16, 14, and 8. Since the mother died various women have lived with the father until they would grow tired of his drunkenness and cruelty and leave him. The home is a two-room, partly furnished shack opposite a crossroads saloon of unsavory reputation. The yard is cluttered with old broken buggies, lumber, and junk of all kinds, picked up on the father's peddling trips through the country. Inside, the house is fairly clean, man-fashioned; the boys are well fed and sturdy in growth, and physically there is nothing on which to base complaint. The boys go to school when they like; but they prefer to make the long trips with the father when he goes peddling meat and provisions across hills and valleys, or to go on expeditions of their own. Often the father comes back drunk late at night, and the boys must wait up for him and take care of the horse or get a beating. The neighbors say that he has tied the oldest boys to a tree and thrashed them with a horsewhip. He is known locally as a thief and has been caught in depredations, but the fear of reprisals or of more serious losses keeps the neighbors from taking action.

In turn the father complains that his boys steal from him—that they take his money out of his pockets, that they can not be trusted with anything about the place. When one boy broke into a store owned by a neighbor and was accused, the father made him return the money not on moral grounds but through fear.

The boys do not lack in native shrewdness and cleverness, and it is likely that under careful and constant supervision they might develop into capable men.

*Case 2.*—One of the women who has lived with the family from time to time is Mrs. Mead. She married one of the men of the hills, shiftless, no account, but a good carpenter and able to make fair wages when willing to work. Four children were born—three boys and one girl, of whom one boy died. After many violent quarrels, with accusations and counteraccusations of drunkenness and immorality, Mrs. Mead left her husband, taking the three children. For a time she supported herself and the children with the help of relatives by occasional day's work and with some relief from the poor master. She has a local reputation for being smart and capable but vicious in temper and loose in morals. Provisions and clothing sent by her husband after their separation she burned and has



refused all attempts at reconciliation, though the husband has repented and is willing to support his children.

Then Mrs. Mead and her three children went to live with Marsh and his three boys in their 2-room shack, with results to the children which may be imagined. The 10-year-old girl became so vile in speech from the things she has picked up in dance halls and saloons that even the grandmother could see no cure except to take the children away. The mother refused to let them go, but agreed to move from the Marsh house and live by herself, claiming that she was able to support the children.

### COMMUNITY S.

One could scarcely find a more isolated or more desolately poor region than S. To reach it a drive up precipitous hills is necessary. The nearest trolley stop is 3 or 4 miles away. The nearest trading centers are 5 and 8 miles distant. Farm products are generally driven to the larger places, from 8 to 14 miles away; a good macadam road is found after the first few miles down the hill.

Lumbering is the only industry besides farming. Portable saw-mills settle down at the foot of a forested hillside, saw off the timber felled, and move on. The farm land is very poor, so poor that everyone has a hard time to make a living and few are well-to-do. Now almost every other farm is deserted, and the gaunt, unpainted houses and dilapidated barns add to the bleak desolation of the landscape.

About 45 years ago all the houses were occupied and it was hard to get a farm to work. The school used to be much larger, having 50 or 60 pupils. Fifteen years ago 25 or 30 children attended the school. Now there are 18 pupils. There are practically no young people in the place, for they all go to the city as soon as they are old enough to work.

As a result of this social and economic decay a much less desirable class of people lives around here now. Poverty-stricken, inefficient farmers have taken up the land, which, for the most part, they rent or work on shares. Some land is not used at all; some is worked by farmers who live on their own land. Little dairy farming is done, for that takes more ability and intelligence. Hay, grain, and potatoes are raised chiefly.

The poverty of the land and of the people is reflected in the houses, in the barrenness of community life, in the school, and in the children. The settlement boasts not more than two houses in good repair and painted to look well. Several houses are banked up with manure for warmth over the winter. Many are not fit to be lived in at all.

Social life is scarcely known in S. The farms are rather too far apart for neighborly calls. The two churches used to hold meetings and had socials and donations, but do nothing of this sort now. A peculiar sect has 10 adherents who have Saturday meetings, with an occasional sermon in the schoolhouse. A general Sunday school is held in the schoolhouse during the summer months.

One winter a series of biweekly dances held at a farmhouse attracted much attention and disapproving comment. Because the family giving them was considered rather disreputable, no girls outside the family would go to the dances. Some dances are held at private houses down in a near-by valley, and when the snowdrifts are not too deep the villagers attend these.

Of wider interest are the revival meetings which run from 2 to 6 weeks in the various churches. The people from the countryside drive in to such revivals quite generally.

The only big social event is an annual soldiers' picnic held on the picnic grounds, which consist of a clearing and wood patch on which closets and a band stand have been built. Several hundred come every year, sometimes as many as 500. A band is hired for the occasion, and good speakers are invited. About a year ago some of the men wished to build a dance pavilion and introduce dancing, but considerable opposition arose on the ground that dancing attracted a low crowd. Accordingly no recreation is furnished except swings for the children.

The school has been noted for the past 50 years as a rough school. When older boys of 17 and 18 used to attend, they made a practice of "running out" the teachers, who were young women as now, until the school board would hire a husky man who "licked" the ring-leader and thereafter all would be well for a time. The name for roughness and incorrigibility still hangs to the school despite the fact that no older boys are pupils now. The oldest boy is only 13, and yet a gang of bad boys has developed under his leadership. No one speaks a good word for the school.

The school building sits barely upon the very top of the hill. Neither building nor grounds afford the proper opportunity for play. The teacher declares that the boys get into mischief simply because they have nothing to do and nothing with which to play.

No attempt has been made to make the schoolroom beautiful or interesting. In a high wind the ceiling cracks and rattles to such an extent that the teacher can not hear classes; the cast-iron wood stove in the center leaves cold the farther seats, which are right up against the back windows. Even in November the girls have to sit with their coats on. A fairly good library is kept in an old wooden cupboard and is used by a few of the children. Textbooks are furnished by the parents, but often the district has to buy books, for the parents are too poor or refuse to buy.

The single trustee, Mr. Trumble, takes a direct and active part in running the school. He builds the fire in the morning, and often acts as truant officer. There is continual trouble with truancy in this school. At least half the children in attendance are kept out to work during the autumn, and in winter getting to school becomes a pretty serious problem for young children who live 2 miles from the schoolhouse. The regular truant officer lives many miles away, but he is often sent for. Last year working papers were granted to two of the big boys; and people have been much disgusted with their actions since. They run the roads and swap horses most of the time.

The teaching in this school aims apparently at drill and a knowledge of facts which the children seem quite unable to retain. The boys in the fourth grade read so badly on the occasion of the investigator's visit that the teacher had to tell them about every third word. In arithmetic they halt at fractions. No spark of interest seemed to enliven the dragging lessons. The teacher last year introduced excursions to the woods for nature study, but the parents objected vehemently. They said they wanted to know where their children were; they did not send them to school to wander around the hills, and they thought "the teacher last year was too friendly with the scholars, anyway."

Occasional lectures and lantern shows used to be held in the schoolhouse, but there have not been any in two years. Election speeches were made there too, but the people objected to such worldly use of a schoolhouse, so now the "town house" is used for all election and town business.

*Case 1.*—Harry Porterfield was delinquent before the family came here to live. At the age of 11 he stole a watch. At this time the Porterfields lived a mile or so out of a little village in the valley. The watch was stolen from a neighbor, who got a warrant for both father and son, and the watch was found in the father's possession. He claimed that Harry had stolen it. But the justice says he does not believe Mr. Porterfield would have said a word about the watch had he not been arrested.

So Harry was sentenced to be sent to Industry, but the sentence was remanded. The leniency shown by the justice may have been due to friendship for the boy's uncle. Harry returned to his family and afterwards they moved to this place.

At the S school Harry—by this time 13 years old—became the leader of a gang of boys who had been causing all sorts of trouble. In this gang were Walter Buckmaster, 10 years old, Johnny Buckmaster, 11 years old, George Cooper, 10 years old, and several smaller boys. They began quite innocently by swimming in a brook near the schoolhouse. The people upon whose property they swam objected,

but the teacher could see no harm, for the girls were not around. Since the boys were no longer permitted to swim they looked elsewhere for amusement, and committed a serious depredation. They went to play during the noon hour on the picnic grounds and tore one of the toilets to pieces, tipped over another, lifted still a third off its base. Harry built a fire in the band stand, but the boys put it out before it did any great harm. The boys all say that Harry did most of the damage.

The owner of the picnic grounds did not wish to do anything about the matter because so many of the boys were implicated, but he did report it to the school trustee, who talked to the school, particularly blaming Harry Porterfield. The trustee then made a rule that the children should not leave the school grounds from 9 to 4 o'clock. The district superintendent, also, lectured the school about it and scolded the Porterfield boy. Meanwhile the boys kept on searching for play. They built dams in the ditch and pounded sticks in the ground. The only inclosed place for play on the school grounds is the woodhouse. They took to playing in there, and Harry taught Walter and Horace Buckmaster to smoke. The teacher heard of this and put a stop to the smoking. Now the boys "set out in the woodhouse on a seat we've got fixed," as one of them described their usual amusements. It is pathetic to see their attempts to make something with no material save sticks of firewood, which they have pounded in the ground, and a board which they have put across the sticks.

The whole Porterfield family bears a reputation for thieving in S. Mr. Porterfield was suspected of chicken stealing in the town he formerly lived in, and John Doe proceedings were once got out against him. He has twice been on probation for deserting his family and he goes off on sprees every time he gets money enough. He is a strange-looking being. A very badly crossed and bloodshot bulging eye lends peculiar humor to a pose of frank, kindly innocence.

Bad blood comes in also on the other side of the house. Mrs. Porterfield's brother is a rough, drunken fellow who is known to have committed criminal assault.

Mrs. Porterfield is a neat, clean, capable appearing woman of 30 years. She is apparently of average intelligence and shrewd enough to put the family situation in the best light. She finds it lonely in S, for she knows no one. She used to work out in a village where she knew people. The younger children seem fond of her and mind her well. She said Harry's father made him behave, and he told the investigator that Harry had to mind him when he is around. According to Harry, however, his father has not punished him for any of his depredations.

The house sits on a hillside; the roads are rather bad, and when snow comes the children have great difficulty in walking the long mile and a half to school. Their isolation is complete. No neighbor's house can be seen and the nearest one is a half mile away. The house is surrounded by untilled fields, and beyond these at the back a little wood begins. The family is allowed to live here rent free for keeping the place in repair. Everything is certainly shipshape as far as neat workmanship and good care of the premises can make it.

Inside, an atmosphere of cozy homeliness prevails. Mrs. Porterfield has papered the living room with gay-flowered paper. The furniture, while poor and scanty, answers their needs; it consists of a sewing machine, a couch, chairs, and a cast-iron stove. The kitchen floor is scrubbed white. Besides these rooms there is a downstairs bedroom and a loft above where the two older girls—aged 11 and 16—and Harry sleep.

Mr. Porterfield bears the reputation of being the best worker anywhere around, and they would have plenty to live on without stealing if he did not spend it on drink. As it is, people suspect that he gets much of his food by stealing. Chickens are generally missed. The family has been several times quite destitute during his absence. But their income is sufficient when he is at home, for he receives from \$1.50 to \$2.75 a day and can almost always find work.

Besides the wrecking of the picnic grounds there have been several minor wrongdoings, in which all the children concerned belonged to the Harry Porterfield gang. On one occasion Harry, Johnny Buckmaster, and little Charlie Trumble got into Frank Tyson's old vacant house, took a bicycle, rode it around until they broke it, then put it back in the house. They, or some one, also ran a little ox cart down into the cellar stairway of the old house. The boys were seen with the wheel, and Mr. Tyson declared he was going to make an example of them, but he finally did nothing. Johnny's father found out about it later and beat Johnny for it. Johnny says that he was only with Harry. Harry and Walter have stoned windows out of several vacant houses, and also went into a vacant house and ransacked it, but took only some window stops. The children concerned are discussed in more detail below in the following cases:

*Case 2.*—Johnny Buckmaster would be considered the worst "bad boy" of the neighborhood if it were not for Harry Porterfield, and in fact there is some discussion as to whether Harry Porterfield or he leads the little gang of boys into mischief. At any rate the boys find each other congenial spirits. Johnny is large for 11 years and better dressed than the other boys. He is an impudent child and stares quite boldly.

He is incorrigible in school—swears, quarrels with the boys, and snowballs the girls. People say Johnny is “queer” because whipping does him no good—he will do the same things right over again for which he has been whipped, and his father has to tell him the same thing several times over before he seems to understand.

He attends school regularly, and the teacher considers him bright enough, but he fools away his time. He is in the fourth grade, but the school standards are low. Though considered “bright” he struck the investigator as being rather dull. He said he had books at home but could not remember their names.

The most noteworthy thing in this case is the character and attitude of the parents. All the neighbors and the teacher know how they badger and bully Johnny. He is so continually watched, scolded, and punished that he never has a chance to do anything at home. One or the other parent is “at him all the time.” His father swears at him, shuts him up, will not let him say a word, and boasts of beating him. But the father threatens a great deal, without following it up with a whipping. As an example, Johnny said his father “just blowed” about the picnic grounds.

The father never had much chance for an education, because he had to go to work when he was 12 years old, but he wants Johnny to go to school until he is 16. Johnny is the only child. The mother is a rather stupid woman, quite subject to her husband.

They have lived for the past 10 years in an isolated farmhouse about one-half mile from neighbors, but several neighbors are near enough to call on. They own about 60 acres and rent nearly as many, and keep a couple of cows. The battered house is banked up with manure for warmth in winter. The living room, little used, is cluttered up with miscellaneous furniture. The family lives in the one room used as dining room and kitchen, also much cluttered. While fairly clean the house was disorderly and uncomfortable.

*Case 3.*—Walter Buckmaster, Johnny’s cousin, also bears a reputation for incorrigibility. He is a much less attractive type than Johnny, putting one in mind of a dark, dull, cramped little animal. He listens open-mouthed to all that goes on, but his large black eyes are quite expressionless.

The teacher finds him very hard to deal with; she would rather get along with Johnny. He snowballs people, swears, whispers, and is so stubborn she can not influence him. One day she whipped him until she was tired because he refused to come to class, and finally had to send for the trustee. Walter has been kept out of school seven days at a time to pick up potatoes, and his little brother, 8 years old, was also kept out. He was among the boys who damaged property on the picnic grounds.

Walter and his brother and sister are continually late for school besides being kept out to work. He is stupid and reads very badly, though he is 10 years old and in the fourth grade. The teacher believes he will not get any further. He cries when he can not get his lessons. He always seems tired out, as do his brother and sister.

The parents have had such a hard life that child care and training have found little place in their home. They live on the old Buckmaster farm, in which they own a half interest. The father raises hay, grain, and potatoes, but is a poor farmer, and the farm is in bad condition. The whole place speaks desolation and decay; the ruins of the barn, which was blown over in a windstorm, lie undisturbed as they fell, and the house is in the last stages of dilapidation. In the house everything is in great disorder and very dirty. The rough board floor is never cleaned, apparently.

Mrs. Buckmaster is a large, strong, slatternly woman, who works a good deal on the farm, picking up potatoes, and so on. Her family was much better than the Buckmasters and they felt the disgrace when she had to marry John Buckmaster, four months before their first child was born. She went to school here, then worked in a factory in a large town, and gathered fruit. She is much blamed by the neighbors for not keeping things up. She has slipped down to the level of her husband, who is a rough man, uneducated and rude. He went to work at 16 years of age, got tired of the country and went to a large town where he worked as a teamster. He gets \$4 a day when he works with his team on the road. The children mind him well and seem fond of him. He says he does not let them go with the Porterfield boy, but keeps them working at home.

*Case 4.*—George Cooper was in the gang of boys that had been causing trouble, but he seems to have been in none of their bad escapades. He has been kept out of school to work and he is apparently worked pretty hard, as are all the children in the harsh life of S. He is sullen and answered "No" explosively and rudely when the investigator asked him if he was going to be a farmer, if he liked S, and if he liked the boys. He came to this school with a reputation for being "a bad boy" in the town he had left.

There is something tragic in the harshness and isolation of the life of George's young parents. They live off the main road, at least a mile from any neighbors who are at all companionable. The house is a well-kept-up, white farm house, and there are several good barns.

Mrs. Cooper owns the farm and Mr. Cooper owns another piece of land. They hire no help now, and Mrs. Cooper works outdoors and likes it. Mr. Cooper began working out for his board when he was 12 years old. Now he is in poor health. For a couple of years he worked on a section gang, but did not like it.

His wife is more intelligent, a dark, good-looking girl. She lived here in S, went to district school, and worked at home until she married at 16. The children appear to be fond of their parents and the family relations seem to be most friendly. The Coopers take no magazines and do no reading. They are one of the better families of the place, but are apparently not capable of taking intelligent care of the children.

### COMMUNITY T.

This community was of interest in the present investigation as the temporary home of a tramp family whom we may call Suley, in which there was a case of juvenile delinquency involving court action. Since the marriage of the parents 20 years ago, they have made nine moves from town to town in a neighboring State and six in New York.

Their written history begins when they took four children to an orphans' home in a large town. The oldest girl was taken to the hospital with pleural pneumonia, and her mother took her out and sent her to another State without the knowledge of the authorities. Then she got all the children, and after this the agent of a children's society found the children dirty and improperly clothed. Later the youngest daughter died of diphtheria.

After this they moved back "home" to the other State and then to T. The family is now composed of six children and the father and mother. Frank, now 11, was connected with a store robbery, before removing to T, when only 10 years old. Four other boys, one of them 17 years old, and Frank broke into a store and took candy, cigars, and packages of crackers, which they hid in the tall corn, and which Mrs. Suley found and used. The constable took the other boys and Frank to town and examined them, but the justice only gave them a good talking to. The Suleys probably moved away on account of this.

The community into which they came is a typical hill settlement, consisting of a dozen or so families living on isolated farms in the neighborhood.

The only industries are farming and lumbering. The farm land is not good, and it is considered a very poor district. The farms in the valley below are better, and a good many of the men who live on the hill work out for the more well-to-do farmers. This is the case with Mr. Suley, and he is well employed all the fall, threshing, husking corn, or doing general farm work.

There is no active community life here. Occasionally some one gives a private dance. At Christmas time they have a communal tree at the schoolhouse, to which everyone brings presents. Most



of the people own horses, hence they can drive into the towns to keep up their connections with the world, but there are not even any telephones on the part of the hill on which the Suleys lived. Perhaps they chose this extreme isolation purposely.

T had been a very honest community until the Suleys came. But soon after the arrival of this family little things were missed and chicken coops were robbed. Gradually the family came to have a bad name in the neighborhood. Where at first people were kindly disposed toward them, willing to give the man work and to let their children play with his children, they now shunned and suspected them, and the better class of farmers became unwilling to employ him. Several men said they had not liked to complain for fear "such a tribe" would set fire to their barns.

At last the theft of a bicycle made them notorious. "It is all over the place," Mr. Suley said bitterly. He felt that this had lost him work, and that it would be best for them to move away.

This is the story of the theft. One day in broad daylight Frank took a bicycle from the ice house back of the store and rode it toward town, then back nearly to his home, where he hid it under a culvert. The owner, suspecting Frank, asked him if he had taken it. Frank finally confessed, and told where the wheel was. The owner decided to let the matter rest there, but the authorities had had so much trouble with the family that they decided it was best to send the child away. Frank was therefore arrested and paroled in his mother's care. When the case was brought up for trial, the agent of the prosecuting society attempted to examine the boy, but could get little out of him. When he was asked if he pleaded guilty, if he had taken the wheel, he merely grinned and nodded his head. He showed little interest in the proceedings. The agent read to him the prospectus of the school at Industry in order that he should know what sort of place he was going to and the parents should know too. But Frank did not understand a word and the parents were obviously bored. When it came to discussing the disposal of the other children, Mr. Suley was willing to agree to the taking of Myrtle and Herbert, but his wife said that if they took those two they could take the whole and she would break up housekeeping. At this stage of the proceedings the agent began talking about a mother's heart, and Mrs. Suley wept. She did not, however, really soften. Indeed, neither of the parents displayed the least grief at parting with Frank. Neither of them even kissed him good-by. The agent said he had never seen parents so little affected.

Frank was taken to jail in a neighboring town, where he was held eight days while he was examined for contagious disease. At the jail he became very popular, and the overseer of the jail said he would

like to take him on his farm. They let him play, and on Thanksgiving the sheriff took him to his own house and fed him on ice cream.

The sheriff's children took him downtown and bought him candy and the overseer of the jail fitted him up with old clothes and bought him shoes, so he looked like another boy when he started for Industry. He had such a good time, in fact, that he said he did not want to go back home or to Industry; he would rather stay in the jail.

On T hill the Suleys lived in terrible filth and destitution. The neighbors say that they were "squatters," but they claimed to pay \$3 a month for the dilapidated, unpainted house in which they lived. Back of the house stood several barns and a dirty toilet. The yard was strewn with rubbish. The health officer found conditions in the house that were beyond description. The kitchen floor was so dirty that Mrs. Suley could not sweep, though she was trying to because she had seen him coming. The family apparently all slept in one room on one bed or on a straw tick on the floor which they pulled before the kitchen fire. The officer saw no bedding. It scarcely seems possible that a family of seven could live with so few things as this family owned, especially when, in addition to the father, mother, and children, there was a man boarding with them. In the kitchen-living room were only three chairs, a table, and the stove. Sweet potatoes were being cooked for dinner, and nothing else. At the time of this visit they had two beds, one upstairs.

The two smallest children had evidently been washed up, but they had been too long untouched by water to have one wash make them really clean, and they had no underclothes on.

Mrs. Suley's swarthy complexion and her habit of wearing a shawl over her head has won her the name of "looking like a gypsy." She is rather handsome, with bold, well-set eyes, and a wide, firm mouth. She has a strong character and is smart but not intelligent—her mental and physical vigor have been misdirected. She has been married before and had two children by her first husband. She works out sometimes with her present husband, husking corn and doing other farm work, but she will not keep house. She smokes and swears like a trooper. Myrtle said: "Ma is queer; she likes to live where there ain't no people." During the visit she tried desperately to make the children mind, but they paid little attention to her, even when she threatened them with a heavy leather strap and cuffed Herbert vigorously. Mr. Suley is not so much afraid of her as one might expect. He has a keen, sly cast of countenance, a heavy, square jaw, and little, gleaming, brown eyes. He looks strong and muscular, but has heart trouble. He drinks only occasionally.

As he tells his family history, when he was 7 years old his mother died and his stepmother so misused him and the other children that

they ran away. His father then placed them in an orphan asylum, but after they had been there a year he once more ran away and tried to steal his little brother, aged 5. He wandered around until he was picked up and taken home by a kind farmer, and after this he was always a wanderer and battered about from post to pillar. He worked out for his board and went to school a little and occasionally his father would find him and take him home, but he did not like his stepmother and would soon run off again. Swapping horses seems to be his chief joy in life.

Mr. Suley is a good workman, and claims that he can do anything. He can earn about \$1.50 to \$2 a day at farming and \$2 to \$3 a day skidding logs. He had steady work all summer, so they are pretty well-off for them. As a father he is not much of a success. He can not make the children mind at all, and he does not often try to, though he bragged of having beaten Frank once with a leather strap.

Hattie, the oldest girl, aged 17, is feeble-minded. The truant officer said she was a menace, for she had so little protection. He wanted some one to take the matter in hand. Her parents, however, declared that she was "such a good girl, and always stayed at home and helped take care of the children." They seem very fond of her. She can not see much, for she once had an infection of the eyes. She is very fond of Malcolm, the baby. He calls himself "Hattie's baby," and plays around her all the time.

Norman, aged 14, stayed at home here only a month, then went back to the other State. Myrtle is the most intelligent of them all, as well as the best mannered and most decent. She appreciated the family difficulties and would have liked a chance to leave. Although 13 and only in the third grade in school, she liked it very much and never missed a day. Herbert, aged 7, sat by the fire smoking a pipe when the investigator called. It is understood that the parents let all the children smoke. Herbert is an impudent little animal, as they all are, and has stolen several things around the neighborhood. Malcolm, aged 2, is a very pretty, healthy, and bright child, and good natured and playful, but bold and absolutely undisciplined.

Frank is the most attractive as well as the naughtiest one of the family. Everyone thinks that he is bright and would be all right if he had had the proper training. He is a handsome boy, with sparkling black eyes, rosy cheeks, and an impudent expression. He is like a bright boy of 6 or 7 years, but is certainly not 11 years old mentally. He has smoked since he was 5 years old, and he swears and steals. In school he was in the first grade; he had been in the third grade, but had to be put back. The teacher said that he might be able to go a grade or two further if he were properly nourished, cared for, and disciplined. He is not dull, but did not retain much

that he learned, and his deportment was bad. He was impudent, fought with the children, swore, smoked, and lied, but after she whipped him the teacher had no trouble. One day she found that he had been teaching the other boys to smoke in the woodhouse. He had a strong influence on the other boys; they wanted to follow his lead. He was several times a truant; he would leave school at noon and go wandering around the countryside, evidently looking for something he could pick up and take home.

### COMMUNITY U.

In the hill country live a large number of isolated, low-standard families who intermarry, live together in all sorts of informal relations, scratch the earth for meager crops or depend upon the bounty of nature, hunt, steal, and fish for their flesh food. Some of them are rovers within the limited bounds of foot or horse travel, living now with this nest of relatives, now with that. Some of them have lived for generations in the same shack. They retaliate in primitive ways for injuries or fancied wrongs, both on each other and on civilized neighbors. Known crimes are allowed to go unpunished for fear of reprisals.

The boys as they grow up have a chance of getting away. But the girls marry, or form irregular alliances before they are mature, and are likely to carry on the family tradition, unless some unusual happening rescues them.

In such a region the following case was found:

*Case 1.*—Margaret is a pleasant faced, homely featured, stocky, well-grown girl. In no way noticeable, either for physique, manners, looks, or personality, she is in appearance one of a hundred girls of her age and country training.

Margaret's people are from the typical hill families; both the father and mother coming from shiftless, dull, lazy stock. While the mother lived, the family life seems to have kept a little above the average for the type, but they moved frequently, the children had only desultory education, and there was never anything ahead. Of the children born in 20 years of married life, nine are still living. Two of the oldest girls are married to men as shiftless as themselves; one is living with a man to whom she is said not to be married. All have very questionable reputations. One son is in the epileptic colony, two children are in a home waiting to be placed out, and two others were placed out when the mother died. At that time Margaret was about 13. Their home, as she remembers it, was comfortably furnished, and kept fairly clean by the mother and children. The father has always been a shiftless provider, and as the children grew up they were expected to get out and make their own living.

The mother gone, there was nothing to hold the family together. The furnishings were sold, and the father and five younger children went to live in an old shack on a hill farm back in the woods. It was off the main road, 2 miles from the nearest post office and 10 miles from a railroad station. Of the six rooms, five were used more or less, but only two were heated in winter and at times the three grown sisters, the father, and five younger children crowded into these two rooms.

Some time after the mother's death the constable and the agent of a children's society went to get the younger children, and found the conditions in the home indescribable. The father had gone to the hospital with neglected sores on his legs, and the children were at home alone. The little boy had only a piece of old cloth around his waist; the little girl an old pair of torn rompers. Their food was flour mixed with water, and fried in the frying pan, which was almost the only cooking utensil.

At this time, the three youngest children were taken and put in a children's home; later two little girls were placed out, and one, a boy of 10, went back to stay with his sister Margaret. The relatives who were willing to take the children and were able to support them were of such questionable reputation that it was thought unwise to allow this.

The father returned from the hospital in December, and lived again on the hill farm with Margaret and her little brother. Again in June the family emerges into civilization, this time through the trunk officer.

Margaret has been questioned at various times and always tells a *consistent story*, so there is little reason to doubt any part of it. She is a child of little imagination, is tractable, modest, and willing to do the things which she has been taught. Her story, gathered at intervals and placed together, is almost incredible.

Soon after the mother died, when the girl was 13, her father, she says, assaulted her, beating her with a horsewhip until she yielded to his demands. He repeated this act on several occasions. Later he brought young men to the house for immoral purposes in relation to Margaret. These men came regularly from December until late spring, and Margaret thinks that they paid her father, for during that time he was not working, yet always seemed to have money. For a year and one-half after the time the father first attacked her, Margaret lived part of the time at home and part of the time worked out as a domestic. The girl believes that her older sisters had similar experiences with the father. She says that she wished to tell some one how she was being treated, but she was afraid, and, also, had no one to tell.

The next chapter begins when the truant officer, who had reported the family at the time the younger children were taken away, looked them up again to see why Margaret was not in school. While driving her home she told the whole story to him. He took prompt action, reporting the case to the district attorney and getting an order for the three children living with the father to be boarded temporarily in a children's home till they were ready to be placed out. The father was arrested, but after postponements of the trial was released because his daughter could be the only witness against him. Physical examination shows that her story of abuse is true.

Margaret has been under observation in the children's home for six months. During that time she has been tried once in a position at housework, but the experiment was not successful. Now it has been determined to keep her as a helper in the home for a time. She is a good worker, willing and obedient.

There are other well-authenticated stories in the files of the children's societies of children abused by these hill families. One father was convicted for selling his daughter when she was only 14 years old to an old man of vile reputation for a few vegetables and an old stove. Another girl, placed in an orphan asylum when her mother went to the insane asylum, was later taken out by a man and wife, and when she had her first child by the husband was put out by the wife. She later lived with a man by whom she had another child; has been at Bedford and at the poorhouse. Finally she was taken as maid by a minister's family, but found difficulty in learning the varied and particular housework tasks demanded of her, and is now working in a factory. She is living independently and happily, and is engaged to a good young mechanic who knows her story.



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